Author:
Aucoin, Taylor

Title:
'When the Pancake Bell Rings'

Shrove Tuesday and the Social Efficacy of Carnival Time in Medieval and Early Modern Britain

‘When the Pancake Bell Rings’:

Shrove Tuesday and the Social Efficacy of Carnival Time in Medieval and Early Modern Britain

By

Taylor Aucoin

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.

School of Humanities

January 2019

Word Count: 86, 000

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Shrovetide, the significant yet understudied pre-Lenten Carnival of medieval and early modern Britain. Filling scholarly lacunae in Carnival studies and British festive studies, it also develops a novel approach to premodern festive culture which emphasizes its importance to surrounding historical processes. Moving beyond traditionally dominant functionalist and linguistic approaches, the thesis argues that festival neither served a standard social function, nor solely reflected the *mentalités* or norms of societies. Instead, festive culture was understood and used as a malleable and instrumental practice for social change, capable of influencing individuals, social relations, and social structures in the immediate and long-term. As such, festive culture could be a significant mediator in social, political and economic causes. Informed by practice and performance theories, the thesis demonstrates how this 'social efficacy of festivity' emerged from annual interplays between the structuring force of festive tradition, the human agency of festive practice, and the unique characteristics of performative frames such as Carnival time.

To execute this approach, each chapter maps the long-form history of a Shrovetide custom, based on empirical evidence. Change and stasis are identified and studied to demonstrate how and why people adapted tradition to affect their social worlds. Chapter 1 uses late medieval manorial accounts to investigate the social importance of Shrovetide food-gifts from lords to their workers. Chapter 2 uses civic records to determine why institutions publicly sponsored Shrovetide football despite enduring legal prohibitions against the sport. Chapter 3 examines a dataset of over 900 Tudor court revels, charting the growth of Shrovetide court revelry, and its advantages to princely rule. The final chapter queries the violent sedition expressed through annual Shrovetide rioting in seventeenth-century London, using judicial sessions records to construct a prosopography of the Shrovetide rioter which challenges orthodox interpretations of the riots, misrule and popular politics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although only one name goes on the front cover, writing a thesis, and indeed pursuing a PhD, is a communal effort. As an overseas student, my community has spanned at least two continents, and several more countries. Members have ranged from family and friends, to strangers who took me in as a lodger, and people who I will never see or know, but who nonetheless had enough faith in me to offer a student grant, or some other aid. For all the help I have received, there are too many people to thank, and too many debts to acknowledge completely here. For those not mentioned by name below, please know I appreciate your support.

First thanks go to my supervisor Ronald Hutton, who has expertly guided me through the rocky straits of the PhD experience with tireless support, advice, and comments, even when I have made things difficult on him. More than this, he may now hold the record for most letters of recommendation written for a single candidate. Even after the 70th request rolled in, he fielded it like it was the first, and it is no doubt partly due to the quality of his letters that I was able to secure the financial support that I did.

My thanks also go to Mark Hailwood, who has been an excellent secondary supervisor and friend to me. I thank him for the frank chats about career options, strategies and realities, as well as his support in reading chapters and writing letters.

Similar gratitude goes to Noah Millstone, who was my secondary supervisor early in the process. Your criticism and advice on my early writing was immeasurably helpful, and our meetings got me thinking more seriously about theory, approach and practice.

More broadly, Bristol University has been a great research community of which to be a part. I thank Tim Coles and the other members of the Deas Committee who gave me the opportunity to come here on a scholarship, all on the basis of a hair-brained idea about 'Bringing back Shrove Tuesday'. Deas and its Past Matters History Festival proved a great experience for me and pushed me to think about how to reach the public with research. And, more importantly, how doing so might be worthwhile, beyond any artificial box-checking. In this vein my thanks also go to Josie McLellan, who supported me when I decided to turn my research into a community event, and eventually an annual festival.

These public events put on during my time at Bristol – 'A Very Pancake Day' and its evolved descendant 'Merry Shrovetide' – were only possible because a great many people assisted me without any thought of payment or return. Many thanks to all those who put up with what must have seemed from the outside an absolute obsession over pancakes. This appreciation especially goes to the Bristol Public Engagement Team, who offered tireless support and twitter press for my events. Chief of this team was Mireia Bes Garcia, who has been a great friend to me outside the context of public events as well. Thanks for supporting me from the start and instilling the confidence in me to continue with public engagement on my own. Gratitude also goes to those who helped make the events in a more official capacity: Easton Community Centre, Churches Conservation Trust, Polly Ho-Yen and the Bristol Central Library.

Special thanks go to Tamsin Lewis and Passamezzo, who through a fruitful collaboration of research and art helped turn parts of my thesis into an early music and drama concert called 'The Battle between Shrovetide and Lent'. I look forward to many more collaborations in the future.

Although these events did divert time, they were not diversions. In many ways they put my thesis into practice, with play pursued for purpose. They gave me much to think about from a conceptual point of view, and I thank all the participants who came along and made them worth the hassle.

Outside Bristol, the Institute of Historical Research in London has become something of a second academic home in the last few years. Thank you to Caroline Barron for acting as generous host for

several of my archive trips to the city, but also for encouraging me to attend IHR Seminars, and inviting me to speak at one. My talks for the 'Medieval and Tudor London' seminar and 'Tudor and Stuart' seminar pulled in helpful feedback for the chapters contained herein. Caroline also deserves thanks for her assistance with a few research problems, as well as her kind career advice, and genuine friendship. The same goes for Marth Carlin, who was also generous in supplying some Shrovetide references from her own research. Anne Lancashire likewise kindly lent references, as did Eila Williamson, John J. McGavin, and Richard McBrearty – my thanks to them all.

I wish to thank David Bates of the IHR as well, not only for his generous research support in the form of an IHR Bates Bursary, but also for taking the time to meet with me and impart career advice. Many other organizations and funding bodies have made this PhD possible through their support, some supplying research awards for trips in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the US, others supplying money towards food and maintenance. All was necessary and all has been appreciated. Many thanks go to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Royal Historical Society, Society for Renaissance Studies, Richard III Society, Sidney Perry Foundation, the Humanitarian Trust, the Bristol Graduate Research Centre, Bristol Alumni Foundation, Sir John Plumb Trust, Sir Richard Stapley Trust, Folklore Society, Society for Theatre Research, and the Medieval Academy of America.

None of the archival research funded by these generous bodies would have been possible were it not for the assistance and efforts of archivists. My gratitude goes to the staffs of the London Metropolitan Archives, the Guildhall Library, the British Library, The National Archives in Kew, the Surrey History Centre in Woking, the Bristol Record Office, the Dublin City Archives, the Cheshire and Chester Local Archives, the Carlisle Record Office, the Glasgow City Archives, the Perth and Kinross County Archives, the Perth Art Gallery and Museum, the National Library of Scotland Manuscripts Collections, the National Records of Scotland, and the Wigan Archives.

Some of the biggest thanks are due to the friends and colleagues I made in the Bristol Grad Pad: Owain Nash, Imogen Peck, Bethany Pleydell, Dana Lungu, Jimmy Packham, Peter Evans, Grace Di Meo, Rhiannon Easterbrook, Tabitha Stanmore, Felipe Côrte Real, James Watts, and many others. Your ideas, conversations, and other direct inputs were invaluable. Even more than this, your companionship, camaraderie and laughter were essential to making it through this experience and giving me a home away from home.

Special thanks also must go to the family who literally gave me a home away from home in my first year at Bristol. To John, Rose and the rest of the May family, thank you for welcoming me into your home. I will always cherish the year I spent there and appreciate the support you gave.

Since moving to Scotland in the last year, I have been harboured by the Main Library of Edinburgh University as a SCONUL access user. I appreciate the hospitality of the staff, and also give thanks to Julian Goodare and Sarah Carpenter, who both welcomed me to the area and took time to chat with me about my research.

Even before moving to Edinburgh, the Kellys acted as a second family to me; warm and welcoming, with great food to boot. I am eternally grateful to them.

To my family and friends back home in Louisiana: your love, understanding and unconditional support have steadied me through some of the most trying of times. Even from afar, your caring has kept me going.

Last, but not least, my gratitude and love goes to Louise, for all she has done in so many ways. I'll keep it simple and just say it this way: I'm glad I decided to audit that Latin class.

Taylor Aucoin
St Agnes Eve, 2019

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: ……. DATE: ……

Dedicated to the memory of Allan Crow - a supportive and loving uncle, ceaselessly intrepid mind, and wonderful man.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

AALT	Anglo-American Legal Tradition Online
BL	British Library, London
BMM	Bethlam Museum of the Mind, London
BRO	Bristol Record Office
CCALS	Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies, Chester
CRO	Carlisle Record Office
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DCA	Dublin City Archives
EEBO	Early English Books Online
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OUP	Oxford University Press
PKCA	Perth and Kinross County Archive, Perth
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

Note on Referencing Conventions

Unless otherwise stated in the main text or footnotes, all early printed media cited in this work have been accessed via *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and are listed separately in the bibliography. Likwise, unless stated otherwise, all manuscript State Papers referenced in this work have been accessed via Gale State Papers Online.

To every thing there is a season,
and a time to every purpose under the heaven:

- Ecclesiastes 3:1

King James Bible (1611)

Every Shrovetuesday is our yeere of Jubile:
and when the pancake bel rings, we are as free as my lord Maior,
we may shut up our shops, and make holiday.

- Firk the Apprentice

Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600)

INTRODUCTION

TIME OF CUSTOMS & CAUSES
Festive Studies, Practices, Frames, and the Social Efficacy of a Forgotten Carnival

The folk that tym wes halely / In-to the hall at thair dansyng, / Synging, and othir wayis playing: / As apon Fastryn evyn is / The custom to mak joy and blis.

- Roxburgh Castle, 1314 (*The Brus*, c.1375)[1]

On the night of Shrove Tuesday 1314, the last day before the fast of Lent, James the Black Douglas led an assault on Roxburgh Castle, Scotland to wrest control of the pivotal stronghold back from English forces. Contemporary chroniclers briskly note that Douglas was successful in this endeavour, but the makar John Barbour, composing his epic poem *The Brus* some sixty years later for the Scottish court, elaborates on the details in characteristically dramatic style.[2] Approaching under cover of darkness, Douglas and his men concocted a plan to take the fortress through stealth and subterfuge. They donned large black cloaks and crawled on all fours towards the wall in an aimless manner, imitating grazing cattle. Two sentinels on the parapet made out the meandering black shapes on the ground below, but presumed they were merely a consequence of the festive occasion. Clearly, the husbandman who lived nearby had carelessly ‘left all his oxyne out’ while preoccupied with making ‘merye this nycht’.[3] Unchallenged, Douglas and his soldiers reached the wall and, after scaling it by grappling hook,

[1] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (London: OUP, 1968), i. 242, ln. 437-41.
[2] On the broader military context of this castle assault, within Robert the Bruce’s campaign to take back control of Scotland from the English, see D. Cornell, ‘A Kingdom Cleared of Castles: The Role of the Castle in the Campaigns of Robert Bruce’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 87.2, 224 (2008), 233–257.
[3] Barbour, i. 241, ln. 388, 390.

made short work of the unsuspecting guards on watch. The Scots then quickly stormed the castle tower, where festivity once again played a role in the success of the attack. Barbour paints the picture vividly:

> Than in the tour thai went in hy.
> The folk that tym wes halely
> In-to the hall at thair dansyng,
> Synging, and othir wayis playing:
> As apon Fastryn evyn is
> The custom to mak joy and blis,
> To folk that ar in-to savite;
> Swa trowit [thought} thai that tym to be.
> Bot, or thai wist [ere they knew it], rycht in the hall
> Douglas and his men cummyn war all
> And cryit on hicht, 'douglas! Douglas!'[4]

Fierce battle ensued, and the surprised English revelers were soon overwhelmed. Later that year, the campaign season which started with Douglas's seizure of Roxburgh Castle on Shrove Tuesday culminated in Robert the Bruce's victory at Bannockburn, this time on the seasonal festive occasions of Midsummer's Eve and Day.

Barbour's account of the nighttime assault provides an ideal starting point for this study of Carnival in Britain, for it captures at once the multifarious nature of the festival, the contemporary awareness of that nature, the intentionality behind actions with and in festive time, and the fervent celebration of the holiday on the island from an (fairly) early recorded date. As implied by the Scots name for the feast day, 'Fastryn evyn' was characterized by its opposition to Lent. Shrovetide – usually understood as the final three days before the fast, but effectively an elastic festive season which could start much earlier based on preference and custom – attracted like a magnet all manner of things which would be forbidden in the weeks to come, including meat, dairy, sex, marriage, violence and play in general.[5] Though English

[4] Barbour, 242-3, ln. 436-46.

[5] There was (and remains) great regional variability in when the Carnival season began and ended. It could run from as long as Christmas to Lent in some places, Candlemas to Lent in others, and could even apply to the whole winter season. It could also bleed over into the first few days of Lent itself. It is usually asserted that Carnival or Shrovetide in Britain was limited to Shrove Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, before Ash Wednesday, while celebrations in southern Europe ran longer. However, those were merely the named days in Britain, and as will be discussed below, deciding how long a Carnival season lasted in the past depends a great deal on your definition of a 'Carnival activity'. This thesis shows that seasons changed and shifted as people actively moulded them through time. One needs to historicise ideas of seasonality before drawing conclusions about regional cultural variation.

and Scottish Reformations would loosen some of these restrictions, much of the yearly Lenten ban would remain in place in Britain until the end of the seventeenth century. Opposition thus endured as the season's key feature, and it produced the cultural motif known to contemporaries and scholars alike as the 'Battle between Carnival and Lent'. But though richly enacted in art, literature, drama and ritual, the festival's bellicose spirit had a real material basis and practical effect.[6]

Shrove Tuesday heralded the end of winter and the beginning of spring. For a warrior society, the harshness of the former made it a season of training and mock combat, while the improved weather of the latter made it the beginning of campaign season. It is no coincidence that March was named for the god of war, nor was it likely to escape notice that Tuesday was his day as well (i.e. *mardi, martis*). When hated rivals Henry de Monfort and Gilbert de Clare challenged each other to a tournament in 1265, they chose Shrove Tuesday as the date for what would be a real battle in all but name.[7] The Second Battle of St Albans was fought on the same in 1461, and Thomas Wyatt crossed the Thames to assault London on Shrove Tuesday night 1554. The Earl of Essex launched his rebellion against the crown during the extended Carnival season of late January and February 1601, receiving his last supper on Shrove Tuesday and execution on Ash Wednesday morn. [8] Perhaps fighting during Carnival time gave warriors a psychological boost or ritual power; we do not know. Regardless, the seasonal synchronicity between campaigns and Carnival which produced many of these events would only have bolstered Shrovetide's warlike reputation in the public mind. As will become evident in the pages which follow, in Britain the festival was characterized not just by violence, but by *militaristic* violence; be it cock-fighting, football or rioting, it was almost always goal-oriented, rather than simply cathartic and bacchanalian.[9]

[6] The most famous depiction is of course Pieter Bruegal the Elder's 1559 painting of the same name. The motif, however, was ubiquitous in medieval and early modern European culture. See in particular, C. Gaignebet and S. Kinser, 'Les Combats de Carnaval et de Careme: trajets d'une metaphore', *Annales, economies, societies, civilisations*, 38, 1 (1983), 65-98.

[7] This was to be held at Dunstable, but Henry's father, Simon de Montfort, rushed to forbid the contest between these two factions. *Annales Monastici. Vol. 3, Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297). Annales Monasterii De Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432),* ed. H. R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1866), 233.

[8] Any number of sources will provide the date and occasions of these events, but for ease see entries for the respective parties in *ODNB*.

[9] This is not to say that violence can ever be fully organized, contained or directed, but that from the outset many Shrovetide customs involving violence were enacted with a deliberate aim and purpose in mind, and one that was not necessarily confined to a ritual script.

But as James Barbour also pointed out, Shrovetide violence stood side by side with Shrovetide ‘joy and blis’: it was a time to sing, dance, play, eat, drink and ‘mak merye’ before the season of austerity and penance began. This spirit too will be on display in the pages which follow, in Shrovetide feasts, weddings, sports and drama. The dualistic character of Carnival, a patron of love and war, was obvious to those participating within in it, for Barbour notes that Fastern’s Eve customarily brought conviviality and revelry, but only to ‘folk that ar in-to savite [safety]’, which the English garrison thought they were. The festival thus held potential for both brutality and ecstasy – carnage and carnality. The Black Douglas combined the reputation for the latter with an enactment of the former to effect his strategy, intentionally exploiting English ideas of how the feast day should be observed (i.e. celebration in the hall) and what could be traditionally expected (i.e. a neglectful husbandman making merry) to bring about his assault on a day central to the warrior ethos. We do not know how far Barbour embellished this narrative, but we do know that Douglas chose to attack on Shrove Tuesday night. Moreover, Barbour’s perception and presentation of how events unfolded are enough for our purposes, in that they point towards an understanding of festivity as something malleable and useful, albeit structured by precedent – a tool of human agency mediated, and indeed given its edge, by tradition. Although the war-time context of this example makes it extraordinary, this thesis endeavors to show that intentionally using festivity as an instrument for desired ends, rather than solely for expression, was common during the medieval and early modern period.

Focusing on the above issues, this thesis presents a revised perspective and approach to festive culture for medieval and early modern scholarship, by means of a cultural and social history of a significant yet understudied iteration of Carnival and British festivity: Shrovetide. In doing so it makes significant contributions to the mulit-disciplinary and cross-period field of Carnival and festive studies, while striving to move festive culture firmly back into the academic mainstream of medieval and early modern history, from which (as will be shown below) it has largely disappeared in recent years. This is done through a revisionist argument, that festival neither served a standard social function, nor straightforwardly reflected the *mentalités* of groups, but was understood and used as a malleable instrumental practice for change, power and influence across myriad levels of premodern British society. Developing a novel approach informed by practice and performance theories, the thesis demonstrates that this festive efficacy was predicated on a sophisticated annual interplay between human agency (i.e. festive customary actions) and structure (i.e. festive tradition), which allowed festivity to ‘work’ at the point of practice on interdependent social, symbolic and physical levels.

Key to understanding the effectiveness of such premodern festive practices is understanding the frame within which they were performed – in other words, how that frame was made and perceived to affect actions, and how this changed or stayed the same over time. The thesis examines one such frame (British Shrovetide) intensively, giving equal weight to the historical context of festive actions, and the long-term history of festive traditions (i.e. the cyclical context), thereby combining synchronic and diachronic analysis to support its argument. To accomplish this, it focuses on four broad festive practices customary to Shrovetide (rural feasting, civic sport, court revelry, urban riot), using empirical evidence to map the traditions over the medieval and early modern *longue durée*, identify change or stasis, and examine these on the level of agents and actions. The results show a festive medium periodically accessed by individuals and groups to intervene in social, economic or political causes, sometimes with an indelible impact on history. To fully explain the approach, argument and contribution of this thesis, it is first necessary to contextualize it within broader historiographies of Carnival and British festive culture and show how it both breaks with and builds upon scholarly tradition.

Bruegel, Bakhtin, but not Britain: Carnival Studies and British Shrovetide

Carnival, in its original pre-Lenten sense, endures as a subject of popular interest and practice, as well as academic study. The appeal to lay-person and scholar alike seems to spring from the same source – the popular festival's adaptability across time, space and cultures, encapsulated in the colourful practices and spectacles of staggering diversity performed, both around the Atlantic world today, and across Europe over the last millennium.[10] It is perhaps this lingering link between past and present that has encouraged historians to join anthropologists and folklorists in examining and interpreting Carnival cultural forms. Certainly, recent conferences and publications attest to the lasting multi-disciplinary and cross-period vibrancy of the field.[11] Nonetheless, the historical study of Carnival has its own rich history, so to speak, stretching back to medieval 'ethnographic' observations, through early modern antiquarianism, to collections of folk customs in the nineteenth century.

[10] The Atlantic world refers to the shared cultural sphere of Africa, Europe, North and South America, through which Carnival has been spread and adapted in the last five centuries. On the Atlantic World and the place of Carnival within it see especially J. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia UP, 1996).

[11] For example, the cross-period and interdisciplinary 'Carnaval et politique' conference at the Université Paris Diderot in February 2015, or most recently the interdisciplinary collection J. Santino (ed.) *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque*, (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2017) based on papers given over the years at the regularly held 'Conference on Holidays, Ritual, Festival, Celebration, and Public Display'.

What might be called the first modern analytical studies of the festival appeared towards the end of that latter century, with publications such as Allesandro Adeollo's history of Carnival in early modern Rome and J. J. Jusserand's study of medieval sports in France.[12] The folkloric model followed by many such early scholars, in Britain most synonymous with Sir James Frazer and E. K. Chambers, interpreted most Carnival practices as fertility rites of pre-Christian origins.[13] The latter paradigm was only fully overthrown during the 1970s and 1980s, as what would later become known as the cultural turn first began its rotation, principally around subjects such as festive culture and recreation.[14] Early pioneers of this movement like Natalie Zemon Davis, Peter Burke, Bob Scribner, and the third generation of the *Annales* school, brought Carnival to the fore of their studies, heavily influenced by the literary theories of Soviet critic and semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin, and linguistic theories from anthropology, most notably Clifford Gertz's thick description.[15] With the aid of these linguistic/textual (i.e. hermeneutic) approaches, both historians and literary scholars began to 'read' the rich symbolism of Carnival customs in premodern Europe, seeing in them codes or representations of deeper societal values and functions which served the basic needs of society.[16] In this way the linguistic turn and new cultural history brought Carnival fully into mainstream discussions of the social and political, resulting in a steady flow of regional and local case studies, as well as works of synthesis on the subject from the 1970s through about the mid-2000s.[17] But though details of this deluge of books, articles and chapters could fill individual monographs on the historiography of

[12] A. Ademollo, *Il carnevale di Roma nel secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: A. Sommaruga, 1883); J. J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et Jeux d'Exercice dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1901), 265-83. For reference to other early works on Carnival, mostly encyclopaedia entries, see the footnotes in F. Magoun, *History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 31; Bochum-Langendreer, H. Pöppinghaus, 1938), 99-100.

[13] For e.g. in E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903).

[14] On this see R. Hutton, 'The English Reformation and the Evidence of Folklore', *Past and Present* 148, 1 (1995), 89-116, esp. 91-2.

[15] On the influences of this early cohort in their examination of Carnival see P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978, rev. repr.; Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 255-86; and for the French scholars see R. Chartier 'Ritual and Print Discipline and Invention: The Fête in France from the Middle Ages to the Revolution', in J. B. Collins and K. L. Taylor (eds.), *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), 207-14. This itself is a reprint of a translation of an original published in French in 1980.

[16] It is not always clear how far 'functionalist' interpretations can be considered separate or connected to linguistic readings. Natalie Zemon Davis, in reflecting on her work of the 1970s, separates the two, and historians generally identify them as two separate frameworks. However, the linguistic approach often produced a result that was then grouped into a social function. These approaches are discussed more fully below.

[17] The literature is truly vast, so that it would be not be feasible to cite even a portion here. For a good overview of the literature, see the works in footnote 15 above, and these two particularly excellent and fairly recent books: M. Twycross and S. Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 52-81; A. Mand, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 67-118.

premodern Carnival in Italy, France or Germany respectively, works devoted to British Shrovetide can fit into a single footnote.[18]

This relative lack of interest in British Shrovetide, particularly in the last half-century or so, can be traced, partially at least, to an opinion sometimes expressed outright in the scholarship, but perhaps otherwise implicit within it, that Britain lacked a Carnival, or if it had one, that it was somehow lesser than others. According to Peter Burke, in his formative and influential *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*:

> Carnival did not have the same importance all over Europe. It was strong in the Mediterranean area, in Italy, Spain and France; fairly strong in Central Europe; and at its weakest in the north, in Britain and Scandinavia, probably because the weather discouraged an elaborate street festival at this time of year…[19]

Such a sentiment is also repeated by Edward Muir in his likewise influential *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, where he states that 'Carnival proper was more popular in southern than in

[18] And here it is. No monographs have been written on British Shrovetide, but several significant book chapters and articles have. For the pre-Industrial festival, some of the most important works remain the antiquarian and folkloric collections of, respectively, John Brand in the late eighteenth century, and A. R. Wright in the 1930s. Both of these men devoted large chapters or sections to the topic. Football historian Francis Magoun provided another essential early study in the 1930s, naturally enough on Shrovetide football. In their judicious collection of sources and 'data', such works laid much of the groundwork for all future scholarship on the subject, present work included. Ronald Hutton's more recent chapter on the festival in his *Stations of the Sun* remains the fullest account to date, pulling in the information held in the latter works, adding to them, and conducting a diachronic analysis of each custom from earliest record to the present, briefly connecting them to broader social movements and issues. To this can be added the work of Chris Humphrey, who considers Carnival on a looser, more conceptual level, but does examine medieval Shrovetide proper in a chapter of his monograph. Finally, folklorist and theatre historian Tom Pettit has maintained an analytical interest in medieval British Shrovetide throughout his career, producing an essay on the morality play *Mankind*, and a very recent article on 'Shrovetide' pageantry in Norwich. The latter is the most recent publication on Shrovetide at the writing of this thesis. Much more research has been done on Shrovetide in the Industrial or modern age, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to list and discuss. For a good gateway to the subject, see Emma Griffin's monograph, as well as the antiquarian/folkloric collections provided below: E. Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 84-113. For the above-stated works: J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed. Sir H. Ellis, 3 vols. (London, 1853), i. 89-94; A. R. Wright, *British Calendar Customs*, ed. T. E. Lones, 3 vols. (London, 1936-40), i. 1-32. In this same vein see also R. Chambers, *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in Connection with the Calendar*, 2 vols. (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1859), 236-40; T. F. T. Dyer, *British Popular Customs, Present and Past* (London: G. Bell, 1875), 62-91. Magoun, 99-144; R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 151-168; C. Humphrey, '"To Make a New King": Seasonal Drama and Local Politics in Norwich, 1443', *Medieval English Theatre*, 17 (1995), 29-41; *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001); T. Pettitt, '*Mankind*: An English *Fastnachtspiel?*', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 190-202; '*Carnevale* in Norwich, 1443: Gladman's Parade and its Continental Connections', *Medieval English Theatre*, 39 (2017), 35-76.

[19] Burke, 271.

northern Europe, probably because in Sweden or Scotland February is not a pleasant time to frolic outside'.[20] Leaving aside the complicating facts that February is generally not a pleasant time anywhere in the northern hemisphere, that some of the most spectacular Carnival celebrations took place in regions practically Siberian in climate, and that northern folk quite demonstrably did spend excessive time and energy frolicking outside in the winter months (and during Shrovetide), these offhand assertions have had (quite unintentionally) some negative consequences in the scholarship, in ways made clear below. We should not be unfair to Burke and Muir, whose two books are works of synthesis, and thus must, by nature, be given to some generalisation. Indeed, they both freely admit and warn of this limitation.[21] Nonetheless, as insightful works of synthesis they have become extremely useful and formative to students and specialists alike. Their influence can be spied in the (some might say ritualistic) repetition of these unqualified claims about British Shrovetide in many other works by medievalists and early modernists, including some quite recent.[22] Beyond possibly dampening scholarly interest in the Carnival of northern Europe, they betray some flaws of perspective concurrent throughout the historiography of the last fifty years.

One problem here is the uncertain criterion for this 'Carnival gradient'. Just what makes a set of practices qualify as Carnival or not and how can it be given a 'grade' of importance? For Burke, Muir and others this seems to be a simple matter of form and scale. Regarding the first, scholars look for informal carousing, street masking, and more organized celebrations like processions, competitions and drama: a loose confederation of practices Burke terms 'elaborate street festival'. It is this that British Shrovetide is apparently lacking, although it is not clear why English and Scottish football, for example, involving scores or hundreds of people running through the street contesting a ball often provided by civic institutions, accompanied with

[20] E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (New Approaches to European History, 11; Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 86.
[21] Muir, 87; Burke, 259-60.
[22] For some examples of this sentiment beyond Burke and Muir, who nonetheless often cite the pair, see R. Axton, 'Festive Culture in Country and Town' in B. Ford (ed.) *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain, Vol. 2: Medieval Britain,* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 146; Humphrey, *Politics of Carnival,* 3; R. Hornback, 'The Reasons of Misrule Revisited: Evangelical Appropriations of Carnival in Tudor Revels', *Early Theatre* 10, 1 (2007), 35-65, at 44; J. Vaught, *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England,* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 8-9, n.26; K. Jewell, 'Festive Culture in Pre-Reformation Rural Suffolk' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2014), 200. Twycross and Carpenter, 78-81, do try to qualify that it is Carnival masking that seems to be missing from Britain, but they extend this statement to include 'communal, public, street festivity'. For a well-measured retort to these claims see Mand, xxiv, 70-1. In the third edition of his seminal work (published 2009), Burke, 271 adjusted his previous statement just enough to account for Mand's work, without conceding that the general comparison between north and south in terms of scale might not be the most fruitful exercise.

music and other pomp, and always followed with heavy drinking, eating and carousing, should not fit the bill.[23]

As for scale, Chris Humphrey puts forward that medieval England had 'not evidence of Shrovetide plays and celebrations on anything like the scale found on the continent'. This raises the question of whether we should be comparing – in terms of size and elaboration – the customs of densely populated urban areas in southern Europe (particularly Renaissance Italy) with those of much smaller English and Scottish cities and towns. And, moreover, whether Carnival should really be equated with the urban in the first place.[24] This thesis will show that, when the definition of Carnival is relieved of its association with masking and mimetic productions, British Shrovetide brims with festivity that was public, elaborate, and indeed filled the streets with pageantry.

Modern scholars are careful to declare that Carnival must not be essentialized, but the latter is exactly what happens when Carnival is equated with one of its forms. Prior to the eighteenth century at least, Carnival was not masking, it was not 'shows', it was not drama, it was *a time*. Forms and practices can indeed be shown to have *epitomised* Carnival in certain regions or communities. This is obvious in the various names for the main feast days, like Collop Monday, Pancake Tuesday or (later) Football Day. However, the difference between essentialization and epitomization, and the problem with the former, can be illustrated if we first extrapolate from the name 'Football Day' that Carnival *was* football, then turn towards, say, Portugal, and, upon observing that their celebrations lacked the sport, declare southern Carnival to have been rather subdued and weak compared to the vigorous northern variety. Thus, the scholarly treatment of British Shrovetide, or the lack thereof, seems to derive, at least in part, from a pre-conceived notion of what Carnival should be in the past, rather than an interrogation of what it was, based on the past's own terms. Partly, this results from straightforward comparisons between continental customs and British customs in the historic record. Its epistemological roots, however, run deeper, to three key developments (two 'real-world' and one academic) over the

[23] The aforementioned works nearly always concede that Britain celebrated Carnival with football, cock-fighting and cock-threshing and the like, but none of these things apparently qualify for 'public', 'street' or 'festivity'. See for e.g. Twycross and Carpenter, 79; Burke, 263. Civic football and its accompanying pageantry will be covered in Chapter 2. Cock-fighting and its accompanying pageantry in Chapter 1.

[24] This over-emphasis on the urban is often acknowledged as resulting from an unfortunate lack of rural evidence and source material. Material presented in Chapter 1 represents an intervention in this matter.

last several centuries which have had significant impact on the study of Carnival and festive culture in Britain.

Firstly, over the last four centuries ‘Carnival’ (capitalized) has devolved conceptually and linguistically into ‘carnival’ (lower-case) in most of the public mind. For our modern world, it truly *can* be said that carnival (rather than Carnival) is, on the one hand, a particular form of expressive celebration, characterized especially by street-level mimesis, procession, and things like wildness and social inversion, or, on the other, a temporary, traveling fun-fair. This can be traced in part to the aforesaid expansion of Carnival into North and South America (where it remained pre-Lenten), and then its retroactive exportation back to England from these warmer climes as syncretic celebrations of Afro-Caribbean culture, where it was transferred to the more suitable summer months (e.g. St Paul’s Carnival in Bristol; Notting Hill in London). But more broadly in the Anglosphere, it can be understood as the product of a familiar process by which the name of an event comes to be used for the practices common to it – at first usually only during that event, but eventually at any time or place.[25] This process can already be spied in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, where ‘shroving’ began to be used to denote carousing and merry-making, almost invariably during Shrovetide. The reason no one uses ‘shroving’ today as a general by-word for partying can be chalked up partly to our second development: namely, the very real decline of Shrovetide public celebration in Britain over the last three centuries.

Due to a confluence of many factors, best outlined in Ronald Hutton’s study of the British festival, Shrovetide decayed over the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries from a very large, often public celebration connected to time-off work, into a single regular workday marked with pancakes eaten in the home.[26] While Christmas experienced a similar decline during the eighteenth century, it was rejuvenated and reinvented in the USA and UK during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to become the cultural juggernaut and festive season *de rigueur* that it is today.[27] British Shrovetide received no such treatment, and this might be said to have resulted in a certain stereotype that Christmas (with its homeliness and wholesomeness) is (Protestant) Anglo-American, while Carnival (with its wildness and licentiousness) is distinctly (Catholic) Latin. While at best simplistic and reductive, and at worst another fold in

[25] On this process of Carnival devolution and displacement and the distinctions between ‘Carnival’, ‘carnival’, and ‘carnivalesque’, see S. Kinser, *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext* (The New Historicism, 10; Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), x-xi at n.1.
[26] *Stations of the Sun*, 157-68.
[27] See R. Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 112-23.

a semi-conscious effort to culturally separate and elevate the Anglosphere from the rest of the world, this stereotype is destructively misleading if applied to the medieval and early modern past. As Tom Pettitt has recently said in reference to Carnival in Britain, ‘the spirit of “no sex please, we’re British” is emphatically post-medieval’.[28] As this thesis endeavours to show, the birth date of this ‘austere spirit’, at least in relation to Shrovetide, should be moved well past the early modern period (or its true existence perhaps challenged altogether); for the vibrancy, diversity, complexity, and often wildness of early modern (as well as medieval) British Shrovetide was staggering. In summary, the Carnival that is very much alive today is quite different, albeit connected, to that of the past. It may often exert an imperceptibly powerful influence on how we look at historical Carnival time, and imagine it should be: colourful, mimetic, processional. Historians are often better at recognizing, admitting to and correcting for the theoretical pedigree of their work, passing over those real-world influences which can be just as important. It is imperative to correct for the latter, and approach Carnival as the temporal frame that it was, being quite clear when it is the form (i.e. Carnival masking; Carnival drama) rather than the frame, which one is examining or searching for, and also being quite careful not to conflate the two. Many scholars, quite to the contrary, have simply sidestepped the problem of temporal framing where British festive culture is concerned, utilising the product of our third development to do so: the carnivalesque.

This third development can more or less be understood as the (above-mentioned) linguistic/cultural turn and its new cultural history. For Carnival and festive culture, at least, Mikhail Bakhtin’s formative book *Rabelais and His World* stands out as the single greatest influence in this movement. In Bakhtin’s view, Carnival epitomised the ‘culture of folk humour’, emphasizing subversive actions and inversion of the norm: lower parts of the body and their effusions brought to the fore, nobility of the mind and soul mocked, peasants made kings, crowns knocked down into the dust.[29] In other words, Carnival time turned the world upside down. Bakhtin used Carnival as a sort of gateway to understanding the works of François Rabelais and the culture which produced them, creating and deploying the concepts of ‘carnivalesque’ and ‘grotesque realism’ to do so. While the distinction between these two terms is not always clearly defined in Bakhtin’s work, he used the former in particular to release

[28] ‘*Carnevale* in Norwich, 1443: Gladman’s Parade and its Continental Connections’, *Medieval English Theatre*, 39 (2017), 36.
[29] Bakhtin’s vision of Carnival is most fully explained in the introduction and chapter on ‘Popular-Festive Forms and Images in Rabelais’ in *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), quote at 4.

certain actions and images felt central to Carnival from their temporal (i.e. pre-Lenten) moorings. In the words of Edward Muir, this opened up for analysis 'the underworld of festive laughter and market-place language', characterized by the inversion and subversion mentioned above, but more specifically by the ambivalence of praise and abuse, the duality of the upper and lower body, and the nature of regeneration through death and birth.[30] If Carnival was a time of freedom for the medieval and early modern commoner, then carnivalesque has been a particularly liberating concept for scholars in many disciplines. With it they have examined all manner of forms, practices, and artefacts past and present as iterations of Carnival culture, complete with the signs and symbols so synonymous with the festival, and so ripe for reading.[31]

With the conceptual tool of the carnivalesque in hand, medievalists and early modernists of Britain have also been able to circumvent Shrovetide's supposed deficiencies. After nearly every statement that 'Carnival as a distinct and separate phenomenon does not seem to have crossed the Channel', comes a follow up that, in places of northern Europe like the British Isles or Scandinavia, 'other festivals took on the characteristics of Carnival proper'.[32] Or, as Burke puts it: 'Where Carnival was weak, and even in some places where it was lively, other festivals performed its functions and shared its characteristics'.[33] With this neatly done, the researcher is then free to gloss over temporal contingencies, at least those of seasonal context. Perhaps unsurprisingly, one quickly discovers that Carnival is and was everywhere, so that in Britain its functions were achieved at Christmastide, Maytide, St Bartholomew's Day, and any festival really.[34] Not only this, its presence can be detected outside of festive time, in the day-to-day of marketplace interactions or occasional charivari.[35] Rather than demonstrating any sort of regional or cultural differences in when and how Carnival (not the anachronistic carnival) was practiced, this simply illuminates some of the limitations of using the carnivalesque as a heuristic tool, at least for studying Carnival as a historicised phenomenon. If an important part of studying the historical Carnival is understanding what set it apart from other festivals and times (which this thesis argues should be the case), then the carnivalesque is of limited value because it was clearly present in many settings and seasons. Thus, while extremely useful when

[30] Muir, 91.
[31] For a particularly good and influential example of this see P. Stallybrass and A. White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).
[32] Twycross and Carpenter, 55; Muir, 93.
[33] Burke, 271
[34] See the rather exhaustive lists in any of the above references, but Vaught, 8-12 provides a concise summary.
[35] On the connection between the charivari and the carnivalesque see Muir, 98-104. On the marketplace see Bakhtin's influential chapter on 'billingsgate': *Rabelais and His World*, 145-95.

deployed as a de-contextualized 'ritual vocabulary', or in the study of literature (by nature only partly historicised), Bakhtin's theory is more problematic when used, as Edward Muir has pointed out, 'in explaining the complexity of crowd behaviour in a wide variety of historical situations'.[36] When Carnival becomes everything, it becomes nothing, and loses analytical value. Spread so thin, its taste loses potency; there remains little basis for understanding how it worked or was experienced as a distinct festival. But more than this, the deployment of the carnivalesque in studies of the festive calendar, and especially Carnival, is often based on certain unfounded assumptions with serious repercussions.

The main assumption is that Carnival was somehow the progenitor of misrule, inversion and subversion, or all things making up the carnivalesque for premodern European societies. By reverse attribution the festival is understood as synonymous with these things; it epitomised them and therefore they are extrapolated as being what Carnival was 'about'.[37] Peter Burke partly addressed this critique of the carnivalesque from the very first edition of his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*:

> There is a sense in which every festival was a miniature Carnival because it was an excuse for disorder and because it drew from the same repertoire of traditional forms…. The use of the term 'carnivalesque' is not intended to imply that Shrove Tuesday customs were the origin of all the others; the suggestion is simply that the major feasts of the year had rituals in common and that Carnival was an especially important cluster of such rituals.[38]

The point is well made and well taken, but it contains within it the problematic idea at issue here. Namely, that every festival can be considered a miniature Carnival because it was an excuse for disorder and contained certain traditional forms. This, once again, equates Carnival with forms, with an added requirement of a certain mood or attitude. Moreover, Burke's defence that Shrove Tuesday is not being implied as the origin of all these customs does not mesh with his or others' treatments of British (and northern European) Shrovetide. Muir, for

[36] Muir, 91-2.
[37] Rather opposite than applications of his ideas which see Carnival as birthing certain forms and attitudes, Bakhtin seems to have thought that in the later early modern period Carnival sort of absorbed other forms of carnivalesque expression from the year, preserving them in one final festival. See Bakhtin, 218: 'This process of unification in a single concept corresponded to the development of life itself; the forms of folk merriment that were dying or degenerating transmitted some of their traits to the carnival celebrations: rituals, paraphernalia, images, masques. These celebrations became a reservoir into which obsolete genres were emptied.'
[38] Burke, 280.

example, says that in these other northern places, 'the seeds of Carnival scattered beyond its normal space in the ritual calendar, sprouting forth in the grotesque realism of the carnivalesque'.[39] All this is to take a twentieth-century theoretical construct and, in similar manner to applications of modern understandings of carnival, anachronistically foist it upon the past. Worse yet, Bakhtin quite clearly did not create such constructs for this purpose. As Samuel Kinser has pointed out in his own insightful work on Rabelais, Bakhtin focused very little on those passages by the author which were concerned with Carnival proper. Instead, he applied his abstraction to many day-to-day activities and festive occasions of the sixteenth-century.[40] Making the carnivalesque a measure of what is or is not Carnival proper is to take a ritual vocabulary used throughout festive culture, and culture in general, and declare it the main rubric for understanding one festival. The result does a disservice to both Carnival and the many other festivals of the Catholic and later Protestant calendars, for the former is made out to be the premodern quintessence of festivity and thereby the great signifier of the culture which created it, instead of just one festival (albeit an important and elaborate one) among many.[41] Thus, in an ironic and paradoxical manner befitting the carnivalesque, this thesis, devoted to Carnival, seeks to *dethrone* Carnival by simultaneously raising the status of its (allegedly) nonconformist British iteration. More precisely, it seeks to relieve Carnival of the undue burden of its crown, so that it can be analysed in its proper context as one particular cyclical time and space when people made things happen based on past and present pressures. In doing this it also joins a scholarly effort waged over the last three decades to wrest understandings of Carnival from the hegemony of southern Europe, which is consistently claimed (without evidence) as its 'home' and 'birthplace'.[42]

The importance of forms, practices and themes will in no way be disregarded in the pages which follow; on the contrary they remain essential to an understanding of Shrovetide, just like

[39] Muir, 93. Similarly Burke, 271 says, 'Where Carnival was weak, and even in some places where it was lively, other festivals performed its functions and shared its characteristics. As stories wandered from one hero to another, so elementary 'particles' of ritual wandered from one festival to another'.
[40] Kinser, x.
[41] Carol Symes for example has challenged this scholarly perception of Carnival pre-eminence in her study of the French region of Artois, finding nothing to suggest that the festival had any sort of primacy over others in the year: *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press , 2007), 208-211. Anu Mand has similarly shown that in places where Carnival was of great importance it also often existed with other festivals, such as Christmas or Maytide, which received equal or near equal attention: *Urban Carnival*.
[42] See for e.g. works on Carnival in northern European regions such as the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Prussia and Livonia: M. de Roos, 'Battles and Bottles: Shrovetide Performances in the Low Countries (c.1350-c.1550)', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama*, 167-9; L. Sondergaard, 'Two Carnival Plays from Late Medieval Denmark', in *Festive Drama*, 203-11; Mand, *Urban Carnival*. See Mand, 70-1 for further examples.

any other festival. They will, however, be subjected to rigorous contextualization, both in terms of their performance in a single (social/political/economic) moment (i.e. the customary action), and in terms of their place in the long-form history of that practice (i.e. the tradition of that festive action). Briefly here, the result will likely prove quite familiar and recognizable to students of Carnival. Only in its relative lack of a street-masking tradition, and its (somewhat) weaker tradition of dramatic performance prior to the sixteenth century, does British Shrovetide stand apart from continental counterparts.[43] Based on these latter two observations, then, we might put forth one more general hypothesis for the neglect of Shrovetide within the new cultural history. For a linguistic/textual-based movement, the smaller amount of mimetic evidence related to British Shrovetide has simply offered fewer of the usual signs (i.e. visual/textual) to read. By turn, this makes it an ideal subject for a more practice-based approach. Before considering such an approach fully, however, it is important to examine the wealth of fruitful scholarship the linguistic turn has produced for British festive studies, and where it leaves us now.

Social Functions and Ritual Languages: Interpretations of British Festive Culture

Scholarship related to medieval and early modern British festive culture can be somewhat arbitrarily, yet not aimlessly, categorized into four broad and overlapping foci, primarily based on approach, as well as discipline and training of the researchers involved: calendar customs, performance, popular culture, and traditional socio-political history. The first and oldest focus – produced by antiquarians, folklorists, and popular and academic historians – is largely descriptive in nature, collecting, categorizing and describing popular and folk calendar customs from the past and present. [44] The second focus is chiefly concerned with festivity's relationship

[43] In this, findings support the research of Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, 81 at least in regard to masking. There was, however, plenty of other street pageantry, music and revelry at British Shrovetide in both the medieval or early modern periods.

[44] This tradition can be traced as far back as sixteenth and seventeenth-century gentlemen (early antiquarians) such as Richard Carew and John Aubrey, who made notes of the folk calendar customs of their native regions. See Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, eds. J. Chynoweth, N. Orme and A. Walsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society New Ser., 47, 2004); John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. J. Britten (London: Folk-Lore Society, 1881). Antiquarians such as Henry Bourne, John Brand and Joseph Strutt continued this tradition through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, when the torch was passed to the developing profession of folklorist. See Henry Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares* (Newcastle, 1725); Brand, *Observations*; J. Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, ed. by W. Hone (London, 1838); Chambers, *The Book of Days*; Dyer, *British Popular Customs*. Interest has continued through the twentieth century and down to the present day, with folklorists, popular and academic historians alike now periodically producing books on 'British Calendar Customs'. See for e.g. Wright, *British Calendar Customs*; M. M. Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland*, 3 vols. (London: W. Glaisher for the Folk-lore Society, 1937); F. M. McNeill, *The Silver Bough: A Four*

to drama, mimesis and literature, most centrally in medieval, Tudor and Stuart theatre and masques, but also in civic spectacle and performative folk customs. [45] Works here usually come from scholars trained in stage and/or textual criticism, and primarily either text-based,[46] or archive-based[47] methodologies. While at its heart concerned with the production, experience and practicalities of performance in the past, this body of work does, fairly frequently, intersect with social and political history.[48] More firmly embedded in the mainstream historical discipline, and indeed developing out of the new cultural history, the third foci – popular culture

Volume Study of the National and Local Festivals of Scotland (Glasgow: William Maclellan, 1957-60); T. Buckland and J. Wood (eds), *Aspects of British Calendar Customs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993). Ronald Hutton's *Stations of the Sun*, modelled after a traditional Book of Days, merges this tradition with the rigorous methodologies of modern social and cultural history. In a similar vein, historians have made serious histories of individual holidays like Christmas or Halloween, though these usually focus on the more recent or modern iterations of the festivals. For e.g. D. Miller, *Unwrapping Christmas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); J. A. Sharpe, *Remember, Remember the Fifth of November: Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Profile Books, 2005).

[45] Some major works in this vein include the essays collected in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama*. Also P. Greenfield, 'The Carnivalesque in the Robin Hood Games and King Ales of Southern England' in K. Eisenbichler and W. Husken (ed) *Carnival and the Carnivalesque: The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman, and Others in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 19-28; S. Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, esp. chapters 'Mumming' and 'Courtly Mumming'; C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[46] This division is of course somewhat arbitrary and theatre historians in particular usually engage with literature as well. However, textual/literary scholars are most interested in festive culture's impact on the texts of plays, poetry and prose, with Mikhail Bakhtin and C. L. Barber particularly influential. See especially (besides Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*), C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959); R. Axton, 'Folk play in Tudor interludes', in M. Axton and R. Williams (eds.), *English Drama: Forms and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1-23; M. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York, NY: Methuen, 1985); F. Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*, trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge: CUP, 1991); P. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008); E. T. Lin, 'Festivity,' in H. S. Turner (ed.), *Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 212-229. And for a more extensive and recent bibliographic overview of this literature see the introduction to Vaught, *Carnival and Literature*.

[47] Most of the current archival scholars, often identifying as theatre historians, are associated in some compacity with the transnational research project 'Records of Early English Drama', which since the 1970s has pursued a systematic regional collection, transcription, and publication of all manuscript references to performance in Britain before 1642. Unsurprisingly, this ambitious project has been extremely influential to the study of festive culture in Britain. For details on REED and a list of their published collections (currently numbering at 26), all of which pertain to festive culture, see the website http://reed.utoronto.ca/print-collections-2/print-collections/. See also many of the essays in A. Douglas and S. MacLean, *REED in Review: Essays in Celebration of the First Twenty-five Years* (Studies in Early English Drama, 8; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[48] This is most clearly seen in studies of civic and court spectacle, though seasonality (i.e. the relationship of these events to seasonal festive occasions) is not always a factor in such works. For seasonal court spectacle see Chapter 3, and for seasonal civic pageantry see Chapter 2, and the following selections: C. Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', in P. Clark and P. Slack., *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972), 57-85; M. James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town', *Past & Present*, 98 (1983), 3-29; S. Lindenbaum. 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch', in B. Hanawalt and K. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.), 171-188; T. Hill, *Pageantry and Power* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

– takes as its subject the verbal, visual and material culture of the 'lower sort' in societies.[49] Querying the relationship between the popular and elite, the reform of popular culture in the early modern period, and the social function of popular customs, early efforts in this field often turned to festive culture for answers.

Popular culture's rise as a field (with its emphasis on the popular-elite dichotomy), the general historiographical shift of focus to the cultural, and a more longstanding interest in popular protest and religion within social history, all conspired to put festive culture at the centre of debates in British socio-political history in the latter half of the twentieth century. This resulted in the fourth and final focus – the social history of festive culture. Works in this vein began surfacing in the 1970s but came to a head during the 1980s and 1990s. Though intersecting with the above-three groups, they moved beyond describing festive customs, focusing on their performative aspects, or treating them within larger studies of popular culture, and instead placed festive customs at the centre of discussions of socio-economic and religious change, social and political control, and resistance. Reflecting this focus, historians such as Eamon Duffy, David Cressy and Ronald Hutton – all publishing within five years of each other (1989-94) – wrote influential monographs taking pre-Reformation and Reformation English festive culture (popular, liturgical, or both) as the main subject.[50] Numerous case studies, mostly articles, were made of festive revolts and protests, while less extreme examples of festive culture (e.g. civic processions, drama or folk play) also became the subject of an ongoing and polarising debate: did festival 'function' to preserve order and harmony, or allow access to

[49] A direct product of the new cultural history, popular culture emerged as a distinct field of historical enquiry in the late 1960s and 1970s. For a fairly recent summary from an authority in the field, see the introduction to the third edition (2009) of Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Other important early works pertaining to Europe include N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); A. Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. J. M. Bak and P. A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: CUP, 1988). For England see especially M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 105, 1 (1984), 79-113; *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century England*, ed. B. Reay (New York, 1985); T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995); B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1998); M. Dimmock and A. Hadfield (eds.), *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); A. Hadfield, M. Dimmock, A. Shinn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014). As with festive performance, the study of medieval/early modern sport and recreation frequently falls under the remit of 'Popular Culture', but, again like the study of performance, it is a much older field. See Chapter 2, which covers Shrovetide sports, for literature on the subject, including coverage of Scotland and Wales.

[50] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (London: Yale University Press , 1992)*;* R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994) Another example related exclusively to the early Stuart and Civil War period, and more generally to popular culture would be D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

disorder, discord and subversive power, licensed or otherwise? Was it a social control or social protest? Before considering these interpretations directly, it should be remarked here that what set this ‘focus’ of the historiography apart from the three others was the sheer breadth of engagement across disciplines, and its recent precipitous decline. Not only did scholars of performance and popular culture, regular students of festive culture anyways, engage with the socio-political debates, but social historians usually interested in other issues did so as well.[51] A little more than a decade ago, however, this widespread engagement collapsed. As a perusal of online medieval and early modern bibliographies will show, general interest in festive culture has dropped off noticeably since the 1990s, even within the field of popular culture, where studies of festivity once stood at the vanguard.[52] Most exceptions to this dramatic decline lie, appropriately enough, within dramatic/literary studies.[53] Theatre historians and textual critics continue to forge ahead in their collection of sources and examination of the relationship between the festive and the medieval and early modern performing arts. Indeed, if British

[51] This breadth of interest will be illustrated in the footnotes below concerned with approach.

[52] This decline was something consistently (though not overly) commented upon in literature of the 2000s. By 2002, Emma Griffin, a historian of early modern and Industrial era popular culture in England, was remarking that recreation and festivity had largely been abandoned as a driving topic of study. Not only this, she linked this decline to a broader one seeing ‘the history of pleasure and recreation…increasingly removed from the academic mainstream’: ‘Popular Culture in Industrialising England’, *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002), 619–35, quote at 620. In the introduction to the third edition (published in 2009) of his formative monograph, Peter Burke himself identified ‘something of a decline’ in studies of the popular culture of Europe in the last decade: Burke, 2. While popular culture certainly remains a relevant field today, festive culture does appear to have lost its position at the front of the interrogatory procession, as will be discussed further below. Illustrative of this, a new edited collection (published 2017) featuring popular culture in the title does not even contain the words ‘festive’ or ‘festival’ in its index: M. J. Braddick, J. Walter and P. Withington (eds.), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, 26; Woodbridge: The Boydell Press , 2017). This of course can be partly attributed to the interests of the contributors, but it should be said that even twenty years ago, a work on popular culture without frequent reference to festivity if not whole chapters devoted to the subject would be quite rare.

[53] There was a final rush of publications in history taking festive culture as the main or major focus in the first half the 2000s, including works on Scotland such as John Burnett’s, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860*, (East Linton, 2000), Margo Todd’s ‘Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland’, *Journal of British Studies* 39, 2 (2000), 123-56. And on English material such as those by Humphrey (2001), Twycross and Carpenter (2002) and Griffin, *England's Revelry* (2005) as cited in footnotes above. Likewise, Ronald Hutton published a retrospective survey of the field in 2005: ‘Seasonal Festivity in Late Medieval England: Some Further Reflections’, *English Historical Review*, 120 (2005), 66-79. In conversation with Hutton, he has supported the idea of a general decline and near absence of similar work in the decade between his article and the start of this thesis in 2014. There are of course a few notable exceptions among social historians after circa 2005. See especially D. Underdown, ‘“But the Shows of their Street”: Civic Pageantry and Charivari in a Somerset Town, 1607’, *Journal of British Studies*, 50 (2011), 4-23. Since around 2014, historians, or scholars from other disciplines working through primarily historical methodologies, have begun (slowly) to pick up the pace again. See for e.g. Jewell, ‘Festive Culture in Pre-Reformation Rural Suffolk’, and works on early modern New Year’s gifts in England by F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 67-84; S. Cope, ‘Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England’, *Early Modern Studies*, 6 (2017), 89-111. The focus on objects in the latter three works reflects an interesting shift towards festive materiality.

medieval and early modern festive studies can be classified as a field at this time, then it is the latter cohort which has kept it alive, carrying the banner at the front of a one-band procession.[54]

The somewhat diminished current state of British festive studies can be traced, in no small part, to the debates touched upon above, and the conceptual frameworks which underpinned them. Borrowing from traditions in sociology, anthropology and literary studies, most historians and literary scholars from the 1960s until around the turn of the millennium took two main approaches to premodern festive culture, one functionalist and the other linguistic. Though technically separate, the division between the two often proved superficial, one approach simply supplementing the other.

The classic model of functionalism likens society to an organism, with individual customs and institutions carrying out essential functions for the whole, as individual organs do for the body.[55] Burke's statement about Carnival in northern Europe, that 'other festivals performed its functions', typifies this understanding, analogous to a coroner dissecting an animal's corpse and, upon finding it lacks a spleen, deducing that the animal must have some other organ that serves the same purpose.[56] Just which organ certain festivals could be likened to became the driving question of the field, with usual conclusions split somewhere between a mechanism for the preservation and presentation of social order on one end, and a catalyst for its complete up-ending on the other.

Though this binary functionalist paradigm remained influential in history long after anthropologists abandoned it in the 1970s, it was soon problematized and made more nuanced

[54] See in particular the work of Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power*. Telling of the lead which theatre history and criticism has taken in festive studies in recent years, and perhaps also of a healthy deconstruction of traditional disciplinary boundaries, Hill provides the entry on 'Festivals' in Ashgate's 2014 Guide to Popular Culture, a task which might have been allotted to a socio-cultural historian in the 1980s and 1990s: 'Festival', in Hadfield et al, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, 43-57. She gives a good recent overview of the subject which pays more heed to court and civic festivals than has been typical of popular culture collections in the past. She also comments on the traditionally fragmented state of festive studies (p. 47).

[55] Traceable to the influence of French sociologist Emile Durkheim, and British anthropologists like Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, the functionalist (or more precisely, structural-functionalist) framework posits that festivity and other cultural forms meet either basic psychological/biological needs (as championed by Malinowski) or structural/social needs (as championed by Radcliffe-Brown). Concerned with past societies, most historians of festive culture have focused on the latter: P. Burke, *History and Social Theory* (2nd ed.; Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2005), 12, 128-34.

[56] Burke, *Popular Culture*, 271.

by the linguistic turn.[57] Profoundly affected by the work of symbolic anthropologists like Clifford Geertz and Marshall Sahlins, and literary theorists like Bakhtin (among others), historians increasingly applied the textual metaphor to festive culture, not only looking for the explicit expression of ideas in the 'texts' of customary actions, but also the sub-texts of these actions, and their discursive potential to constitute society.[58] In particular, this new attention to meanings and beliefs helped bring issues of gender, class and identity into the discussion. [59] The classic model here was to liken festive actions to words in a language, as seen in the 'ritual vocabulary' of Bakhtin's carnivalesque, or the 'vocabulary of celebration' (i.e. bonfires, ringing of bells, etc.) identified by David Cressy in his work on the Protestant calendar of early modern England. In Natalie Zemon Davis's recent article, which looks back on her field-defining pieces on misrule and rites of violence in early modern France published during the early 1970s, she remarks how her approach shifted from a classic social history one which 'reflected on the consequences or functions of symbolic action' to a cultural one which 'read the violent actions of crowds as guided at least in part by religious beliefs and sensibilities and the prescriptions of ritual performance'.[60]

Despite such increasingly nuanced interpretations, new 'readings' were still often couched within the functionalist paradigm. For example, Bob Scribner's classic study of 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down' in Germany (published 1978) conceptualized festival variously as an 'alternate medium' or 'form of communication' for popular protest, a psychological or social release, a containment of discontent, and a reintegration of the normal social order.[61] Concerning Britain, historians like Charles Phythian-Adams, Mervyn James and Sheila Lindenbaum interpreted the imagery and hierarchical movements of civic pageantry like Corpus Christi and Midsummer processions as serving, variously, to reinforce the inclusive and harmonious social body of the city, to endorse social division and the exclusivity of civic

[57] On the effect of the linguistic turn on studies of festive culture see Underdown, '"But the Shows of their Street", 6-8; Hutton, 'Seasonal Festivity', 74-6; 'N. Z. Davis, 'Writing "The Rites of Violence" and Afterward', *Past & Present,* 214, Suppl. 7 (2012), 8-29.
[58] Underdown, '"But the Shows of their Street", 74-75.
[59] On youth and festivity in England see for e.g. see B. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London,* (Oxford : OUP, 1993), 16-18, 124-128; for influential works about the same in France: Davis, *Society and Culture*, 104-123; H. Skoda, *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 130. For gender and festive culture see for e.g.: S. Maclean, 'Hocktide: A Reassessment of a Popular Pre-Reformation Festival', in Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama*, 233-41; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 124-151. The relationship between youth and Shrovetide is covered in Chapters 1 and 4. Gender and Shrovetide is covered in Chapter 1 and 3 in particular. The relationship between 'class' or social group and Shrovetide is explored in Chapters 1, 2, 4.
[60] Davis, 'Writing "The Rites of Violence"', 11.
[61] B. Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Social History*, 3, 3 (1978), 303-29.

institutions, and/or to give those 'tensions stemming from rigidities within the social structure… institutionalized outlets'.[62] On the same 'social control' section of the function spectrum, but usually concerning less institutionalized or ceremonial customs of festive misrule and inversion, stands the 'safety-valve' theory. Particularly linked to social anthropologist Max Gluckman, but a premodern idea in itself, this popular and enduring theory posits that some subversive festive customs were licensed or allowed by authority to take place and that in their temporary inversion of norms they pointed to and thereby reinforced the established order and regime.[63] Some scholars, usually studying revolt or literature, have argued against such a position, seeing in festivity and especially Carnival the potential for destabilizing, anti-authoritarian action and social change.[64]

By the late 1980s and certainly the 1990s, some were beginning to see the flaws in the binary nature of this model and began to tread a middle ground. For example, in their consideration of Carnival and political transgression, Peter Stallybrass and Allon White concluded that 'for long periods carnival may be a stable and cyclical ritual with no noticeable politically transformative effects but that, given the presence of sharpened political antagonism, it may

[62] In a telling merger of the language and body metaphors, Mervyn James said of Corpus Christi ceremonies and plays, that they worked 'as a symbolic system' expressing 'wholeness' in the social body. See also his stated aim to adopt a structuralist approach in footnote 15: M. James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body', 6 and 15. Lindenbaum, in contrast, saw such festivities as serving to enforce exclusion from specific guilds and other social groups: 'Rituals of Exclusion', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama*, 54-65; and also 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch'. Phythian-Adams saw the potential for both but emphasized (as in the quote above) their role as a regulated release for societal tensions: 'Ceremony and the Citizen', 66. For a discussion of similar functions in rural and rebellious contexts see S. Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (The New Historicism, 27; London: University of California Press, 1994), 151-165.

[63] See for e.g. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London*, 125-6*;* Maclean, 'Hocktide: A Reassessment', 233-41, esp. 236; P. Greenfield, 'Festive Drama at Christmas in Aristocratic Households', in Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama*, 34-40; C. Sponsler, 'Writing the Unwritten: Morris Dance and the Study of Medieval Theatre', *Theatre Survey*, 38 (1997), 73-95. For an early summary of both sides of this debate, see Burke, *Popular Culture*, 281-6. Burke seems to come down on the side of the safety-valve, with the addendum that festive ritual languages could be appropriated in specifically riotous or rebellious contexts. For a more recent and very extensive list of works which have contributed to this debate, particularly in literary studies, see the footnotes in Vaught, 6-8.

[64] For e.g. M. D. Bristol, 'Carnival and Institutions of Theatre in Elizabethan England', *ELH*, 50 (1983), 637-654; A. Gash. 'Carnival Against Lent: The Ambivalence of Medieval Drama', in D. Aers (ed.), *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology & History* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1986), 87-94; Billington, *Mock Kings*. Works which consider revolts and protest include: Justice, *Writing Rebellion*; T. Pettitt, '"Here Comes I, Jack Straw:" English Folk Drama and Social Revolt', *Folklore*, 95 (1984), 3-20; S. Hindle, 'Custom, Festival and Protest in Early Modern England: The Little Budworth Wakes, St Peter's Day, 1596', *Rural History* 6, 2 (1995), 155-78. See also influential works which consider French festivity from this perspective: E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival: A People's Uprising at Romans, 1579-1580*, trans. Mary Feeney (London: Scolar, 1980); Y. Bercé, *Féte et Révolte. Des mentalitis populaires du xvie au xviiie siecle* (Paris: Hachette, 1976). See also Chapter 4, which considers the literature pertaining to Shrovetide rioting.

often act as catalyst and site of actual and symbolic struggle'.[65] This pluralism can be spied in publications throughout the 1990s and 2000s, with scholars careful to emphasize the deeply ambiguous nature of festivity and its potential for both the conservative and radical.[66] Others went further still, rejecting the whole debate as being too steeped in a Marxist fixation on power in past societies. As the medievalist Steven Justice put it in his 1994 monograph on the Peasants Revolt of 1381, the debate was built on an unimaginative idea that rulers 'want people to work and people want to break things', and failed to consider that communities of the past may not have always centred their thoughts on who ruled them.[67] Such disenchantment came to a head with the work of Chris Humphrey, who in several publications around the turn of the millennium called for revision in the field, and specifically within medieval festive studies. Humphrey criticised the theoretical basis of both safety-valve and Bakhtinian models, calling for closer contextual analysis and evidence-led, rather than theory-led, interpretations.[68] While the latter's warnings were acknowledged and sometimes heeded in the literature which followed, that literature greatly diminished as the decade progressed.[69]

On the one hand this decline could be attributed, ironically, to the very disillusionment with and rejection of the binary functionalist paradigm, since it was this debate, however flawed, which drove much discussion in the field over three decades. Similarly, it could be tangentially linked to the over-emphasis on power and the political in this debate, as lamented by Steven Justice above.[70] Mark Hailwood, for example, has suggested a connection between the decline in studies of recreation and festivity and a potential backlash against 'over politicising leisure

[65] P. Stallybras and A. White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 14.
[66] For e.g. see Sponsler, 'Writing the Unwritten', 85-6; Muir, 92; Twycross and Carpenter, 57; Hindle, 'Custom, Festival and Protest in Early Modern England', 170-1; R. Hornback, 'The Reasons of Misrule Revisited: Evangelical Appropriations of Carnival in Tudor Revels', *Early Theatre* 10, 1 (2007), 35-65, at 57-8. While all the above recognize this ambiguity, some still lean one way or the other. Hindle for e.g. says, 'Rituals of paternalism and deference might well have cloaked the realities of power and authority, but they were played out in a context where both rulers and ruled were aware of the potential of the "custom of disobedience"'. Similarly, but in the other direction, Sponsler recognizes that there was potential in festivity for subversion, but normally it was socially conservative.
[67] Justice, 150-156.
[68] '"To Make a New King": Seasonal Drama and Local Politics in Norwich, 1443', *Medieval English Theatre*, 17 (1995), 29-41; C. Humphrey, 'The World Upside-Down in Theory and as Practice: A New Approach to the Study of Medieval Misrule', *Medieval English Theatre*, 21 (1999), 5-20; *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001), esp. ch. 1 and 2.
[69] For e.g. Humphrey's points are specifically addressed in Twycross and Carpenter, 53n.7, 66n.56; Hutton, 'Seasonal Festivity', 76-9; Jewell, 15.
[70] For example, James C. Scott, in his influential treatise on resistance and transgression, found it '…virtually impossible to dissociate the carnivalesque from politics' in regard to past societies: *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London: Yale UP, 1990), 181.

as an arena of struggle'.[71] If this is truly what has happened, it would prove another point of irony, for it was festivity's potential to speak to power struggles within society that partly encouraged widespread engagement with the subject in the first place. But considering such commentary comes from modernists, early modernists and medievalists across the popular culture spectrum, the decline should probably not be attributed to subject or period-specific issues alone, but also to broader concerns within the discipline of history itself. For all its notable revision, for example, Humphrey's work still exhibits certain entrenched perspectives, namely, a continued emphasis on the meaning and function (albeit well-contextualized) of festive culture at the level of societal structures.[72] These might point the way to lingering problems holding back wider engagement with the field.

It must be said that from early on, pioneers like Scribner, Davis and Burke acknowledged the nuances of festivity and advocated plurality of interpretation based on context – a stance, as noted above, also increasingly advocated in the 1990s. What was not challenged was the idea that festivals *did* have some sort of essential societal function, which could be discerned if only one read the signs in their proper context. Not only this, such a festive text could give the reader privileged insight into the values of the society at hand and its structures. The festival was a code, a reflection, a representation, and as such of great value to the historian. As we have already seen as well, Carnival was and has been held up (to its detriment) as the cultural representation *par excellence*: premodern Europe's master code.[73] This view is prototypically espoused in a section from one of the most celebrated works on Carnival to come out of the *Annales* school in the 1970s – Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Carnival: A People's Uprising at Romans, 1579-1580*: 'The Carnival in Romans makes me think of the Grand Canyon. It shows, preserved in cross section, the intellectual and social strata and structures which made up a *très ancien régime*'.[74] Remarking on the 'festive explosion' which characterized the historiography of 1970s France, Roger Chartier explicated Le Roy Ladurie's analogy, adding some helpful detail:

[71] Hailwood, 8 n.18, quoting Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 76–90.
[72] While Humphrey's approach attempts to strip out any preconceived notions of function or meaning, it still asks, 'how do we go about researching the function and meaning?' of festivity: *Politics of Carnival*, 44. This is not to say that this thesis will totally abandon questions of meaning and function, only that starting from the point of view of structure, be it functionalist or structuralist, has its limitations. This approach is explained below.
[73] For e.g. Muir, 86: 'Among all the popular lay festivals Carnival presents the archetypical form against which others can be measured'.
[74] Le Roy Ladurie, 370.

> The geological metaphor clearly illustrates a perspective in which the festive event is indicatory and the extraordinary is charged with speaking for the ordinary. Even when a fête does not generate excesses or revolt, it is amenable to this kind of approach. It always produces that singular albeit repeated moment when it is possible to grasp the rules of a social system, even though they are disguised or inverted.[75]

The *Annales* school was not alone in this approach, nor has the basic premise faded away with the abandonment of functionalism in recent years. Samuel Kinser proposed that festive representations ‘embodied’ the structures and processes of society while Edward Muir said that one ‘must read the language of festivity’ to understand what is going on in a past Carnival.[76] Steven Justice, paraphrasing Clifford Geertz on a grander scale, said that festivities were a medieval ‘community's articulation of itself to itself’, and most recently, Katharine Jewell has used the classic metaphor of the carnivalesque as an allegorical language in her doctoral thesis on the festive culture of pre-Reformation Suffolk.[77] Implicit in all of these interpretations is an idea that premodern festivals and festive cultures were somehow static, rather than teeming and contested at the point of practice. Frozen in time, festivals locked in values, beliefs and relationships and put them on display for the world (and historians) to see. Unsurprisingly, many of the studies which have employed such hermeneutic methods over the last fifty years have been examples of synchronic analysis. As with Carnival in Romans 1580, Corpus Christi in Suffolk 1381, or Fastyngham Tuesday in Norwich in 1443, historians have taken the festive actions of a single (often extraordinary and thus well-documented) event and extrapolated from there. In studies with broader temporal and geographic spans, often combining socio-economic history with cultural, historians have tended to (sometimes unavoidably) fall back on essentialism, pulling stock social functions from the shelf to facilitate interpretation. In both cases festive culture has been approached on the level of social structures, whether in the structural-functionalist sense of the social historian or in the (post)structuralist cultural historian’s sense of a ritual language which constructed society and therefore could be read as its code.

[75] Chartier, 208.
[76] Both of these quotations are from Muir, 86.
[77] Bob Scribner in ‘Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down’, 329 similarly understands carnival ‘as a manifestation of collective mentalities’. Justice, 155; Jewell, 37. Jewell’s thesis, however, marks a turning point in arguing that past people employed this ritual language to intervene in their daily lives, rather than solely to articulate static social functions of protest or representation. This thesis proceeds in a similar vein, though it contends the separateness of festive time was pivotal in giving the medium its form and therefore its utility.

Through these processes, festive scholars have become complicit in two of the main crimes increasingly charged at the new cultural history, and to a lesser extent its social history predecessor. Firstly, the post-structuralist ‘elimination of the conscious historical subject’, which only deepened the ‘chasm between structure and agency’ often apparent in the classic social history’s quantitative studies, is visible both in interpretations of festivity as achieving something for the ‘social body’ rather than individuals, and in understandings that the symbolic language of festive actions manifested in essentially static and therefore presumably unconsciously formed customs each year.[78] Secondly, synchronic analyses, more strictly associated with new cultural history, have eliminated the historical narrative of festive traditions, thereby locking festive customs in as unchanging set-texts. In the last ten to fifteen years especially, historians have grown increasingly dissatisfied with the said shortcomings of the cultural turn and have begun to look elsewhere in their formulations. As a result, it is possible that many have simultaneously abandoned a subject-area so classically connected with the movement and its most offending approaches. Hoping to correct for the rather rudderless recent course of festive studies in social and cultural history, and to help bring it back into the mainstream of historiography, this thesis shifts the focus from festive functions and languages to festive frames and practices.

Conceptual Approach and Theory: Festive Practice, Festive Frame, Festive Efficacy

Early in the first decade of the new millennium, historians increasingly sought to reconcile some of the flaws and discrepancies identified above in social and cultural historical approaches, most pressingly the tension between structure and agency. One group coalesced around theoretical approaches closely connected to the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (among others) and based on the juncture between the latter two concepts at the point of ‘practice’. According to Michael Polyakov’s recent article published on this historiographical movement, such approaches try to:

[78] On these concerns and the quotes see the following works, all generally expressing the same views: M. Polyakov, ‘Practice Theories: The Latest Turn in Historiography?’, *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 6, 2 (2012), 218-35, quote at 220. R. McMahon, ‘Cultures of Communication: New Historical Perspectives, *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire*, 16, 1 (2009), 1-14, quote at 3. And also N. Millstone, ‘Historicising Common Sense’, *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 46, 4 (2012), 529-43. G. M. Spiegel, ‘Comment on “A Crooked Line”’, *American Historical Review*, 113, 2 (2008), 406-416.

> …interpret human activity and its semantic force by parsing it into practices: stable and structured clusters of behaviors, communicative actions, and accompanying mental activities that together render the world meaningful to those engaged in them…[79]

To use a linguistic analogy, such theories move critical emphasis from Saussure's *langue* (language) to his *parole* (speaking), while recognizing both as necessary for a speech act. Importantly, researchers adopting such approaches have attempted to 'unmask apparent stability of social systems as contingent agent-driven reproduction' and shift understandings of 'timeless structures and events treated as objects, immovable in their permanence, to the *process* of enactment'.[80] Thus, this thesis proceeds along these advantageous lines, studying festivals as *dynamic* events, and festive customs as actions yearly (re)constructed and adapted to various situations and historical contexts, in turn informing traditions over the long-term.

Embedding this structural understanding in the material world, where medieval and early modern people (usually) experienced festivals, this thesis also turns to performance theory and most particularly its concept of the performative 'frame'.[81] Once limited to the context of theatre and drama, performance is now understood in most academic circles in terms of Erving Goffman's influential interpretation: 'all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers'.[82] Janette Dillon, writing on the language of space at medieval and early modern British courts, has more recently revised this expansive definition to read as 'a spectrum in which the framing of a piece of action as a performance makes it visible as such to varying degrees'. Thus, a performance is constituted in terms of the frame itself, which as Dillon explicates, can include social interactions, aesthetic pieces such as plays or portraits, particular occasions, specific places, and combinations thereof.[83] It is of course the specific

[79] Polyakov, 221. A watershed publication for this 'practice turn', considered by some as its first handbook, is G. M. Spiegal (ed.), *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*, Oxford: Routledge, 2004).

[80] Polyakov, 221, original emphasis.

[81] 'Usually' is important here because, as will been shown in Chapter 4 on Shrovetide riots, festive customs could actually be 'invoked' as threats when outside festive time itself.

[82] E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre, 1956), 13.

[83] J. Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 5. Dillon's frames of performance draw heavily from theatre director and theorist Richard Schechner's work: *Performance Theory*, (rev. ed.; London: Routledge, 2003).

occasion of Shrovetide with which this thesis is concerned, and it will not be the first work to couch Carnival time as a performative frame which transformed the streets, marketplaces and homes in which it was experienced into a stage.[84]

The seasonal 'script' which these Carnival 'performers' read, enacted, and made revisions upon connects us back to practice theory, for its structured, inherited form can be likened to Bourdieu's key concept of habitus. Defined in part as those 'dispositions…or structuring structures, that is…principles which generate and organize practices and representations',[85] it is used here to isolate those 'dispositions' related to the frame of Shrovetide and understood as 'festive tradition'.[86] In other words, Shrovetide tradition was that part of the habitus which suggested (strongly) how people should act during the festival. In the process of 'reflecting and reproducing' the social structure of such Shrovetide traditions each year, and responding to other pressures through the performance of customs, revelers could impact and inform not only those traditions, and therefore future action, but potentially any of the other structures of society (political, economic, social, etc.).

Diverging from Bourdieu slightly, who downplayed the importance of the 'conscious aiming at ends' in practices (seeing them closer to habits), this thesis adopts the approach, indeed based on the evidence which follows, that there was a significant degree of intention or consciousness in most cyclical festive actions.[87] Rather than absolute, it is better to think of this intentionality as a spectrum, with the harnessing of festive acts directly for systemic societal change on one end (usually in extreme circumstances) and less conscious or semi-conscious 'expressive' aims on the other.[88] However, the thesis contends that the whole spectrum must be respected as goal-oriented to some degree, even when those goals seem 'base' (e.g. cathartic, emotional) in the traditional sense which prioritizes social change on the 'structural' or systemic level, rather

[84] See for e.g. Muir, 92.
[85] On Bourdieu's habitus, see *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 52-65, quote at 53.
[86] For one of the classic definitions of tradition, somewhat complementary to the one adopted here, see E. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).
[87] In this the thesis follows more closely the approaches of, for e.g., William Sewell Jr. and Anthony Giddens, who, as summarised by Polyakov, 231 generally maintain that 'systems of meaning do not determine an actor's behaviors or utterances, but merely organize a field of possibilities'.
[88] In this Jack Santino's conceptualisation of the 'carnivalesque' and 'ritualesque' spectrum is helpful, where carnivalesque actions are more expressive and ritualesque actions are those symbolic actions made, regardless of setting, with the intention of fostering some form of social change. See J. Santino 'Introduction: From Carnivalesque to Ritualesque', in J. Santino (ed.) *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque*, (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2017); 'The Carnivalesque and the Ritualesque', *Journal of American Folklore*, 124, 491 (2011), 61-73.

than on the individual’s personal or relational one. The broader significance of respecting the latter becomes clear through diachronic analysis, when one can see expressive festive practices of years past picked up, played with and repurposed for more pointed aims in the present. Due to the nature of practice, this radicalized version of an expressive custom can become a permanent part of the tradition itself, and therefore imbued with an inflated capacity for social change in the future.

Within about the last five years, new works from medievalists and early modernists on ritual, ceremony, and festive culture have increasingly argued for the agency, action and intention presented in the above approach. Historians contributing to a 2015 collection on ‘rituals, performatives, and political order’ in medieval Scandinavia, aimed to ‘show that rituals were powerful, rational, and effective instruments that were used to create social and political change’, while a recent thesis illuminated the ‘uses of ceremony’ and their ‘performing power’ in the English Civil War.[89] Where the strictly festive is concerned, scholars have sought to show that early moderns in England ‘actively created holiday rituals’, or that in medieval Suffolk, festivals ‘impacted upon the everyday lives of communities’ and were ‘an important part of the lives of individuals’ through the transference of ritual significance to objects and memories.[90] Some of the above works engage with theories of performativity, or with Catherine Bell’s influential practice theories on the process of ‘ritualization’, but others do not. The latter fact suggests that these perspectives go beyond the theoretical to something deeper in the current academic zeitgeist. But while the above efforts bring agency and intent back into the equation, they sometimes struggle to break from the synchronic mould of recent cultural history, to demonstrate both the fluidity of tradition and the relevance of such intentional ritual practices to the long march of history. By attempting to merge the former and the latter concerns with the established respect for agency and intent, this thesis not only takes part in the burgeoning ‘practice-turn’, but also seeks to further and improve its gains.

[89] L. Hermanson, ‘Introduction: Performative Power, Ritual, and Political Order in Northern Europe c. 650-1350’, in *Rituals, Performatives, and Political Order in Northern Europe, C. 650-1350*, L. Hermanson, W. Jezierski, T. Småberg, H. J. Orning (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 1-40, quote at 2. V. Anker, ‘The Uses of Ceremony: Performing Power in the First Civil War’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2016).
[90] Vaught, 8; Jewell, 230.

Methodology: Practice Theory in Praxis

To accomplish the above-stated aims, the thesis brings together macro and micro-historical (or rather, case study) methodologies. Each chapter takes as its subject a Shrovetide custom or connected set of customs (i.e. feasts, sports, revels, riots), first mapping out the broad history of these customary actions over time, which for analytical purposes is thought of as the visible or evidential manifestation of a Shrovetide tradition.[91] Starting on this broad scale facilitates a full socio-cultural history of Shrovetide, but also enables the interrogation of change or stasis in the historical record. Once the former or latter is isolated, the chapters proceed to a lower level of temporal, regional, or social case studies to postulate why change or continuity occurred. It is at this level that it is possible to demonstrate agents actively using festive culture to achieve identifiable aims, thereby influencing their surrounding social environments. While this is naturally easier to point out when there is a change in tradition, and some form of goal and intent would seem logical, it is present in continuity as well. As the framework of practice helps show, it takes effort to establish practice and keep it going, especially where elaborate, energetic or expensive festive customs are concerned. Festive customs did not simply happen, individuals went out of their way to *make* them happen again and again. Why? To answer this, it is necessary to bridge macro with micro, disposition with practice, and framing context (i.e. Shrovetide) with historical context (i.e. when, where, who, etc.), through a concept called ‘festive social efficacy’.

While social efficacy itself can be defined simply as ‘social usefulness’, when it is deployed in this thesis it more fully refers to the ability of a festive time and/or custom to do work on a social level, ranging from individual relations to structures.[92] There is an implicit addendum here that such ‘ability’ derives from a process which creates its ‘ableness’ for a particular end. In other words, a festive custom’s efficacy is in large part predicated on frequent demonstration of that usefulness. For example, people of a guild might know that their Carnival feast (and not just any feast) is good for fostering particular social bonds, whatever those might be. This knowledge of its traditional value derives in large part from annual practice. It is not inherent, because if one or a series of Carnival feasts becomes marred by bloodshed or other atrocities,

[91] Or, put in more theoretical terms, the *longue durée*, of a tradition is understood as evidence of ‘dispositions’ in the habitus manifested through cumulative practice in the field.
[92] Bourdieu, or rather his translator Nice, uses the term ‘social efficacy’, but seemingly only in the general manner of effectiveness, whereas usage here also emphasizes the built-in mechanism or process by which the thing is useful.

its social efficacy might be undermined as people reconsider whether it is still conducive to fostering social bonds, and therefore worth holding each year. Thus, the social value of a festival is never innate nor dependent solely on its chief characteristics, but always contingent on both present realities and tradition (i.e. its history). As a heuristic tool, 'social efficacy' is therefore better historicized than social functionalism, yet still retains the latter's central premise that there was purpose in enacting festive customs.[93]

As a technique, the dissection of festive social efficacy pulls from ritual studies in two main ways. Apparent in the above definition, the first way is to consider ritual as an act and a process, best explicated in Catherine Bell's term 'ritualization': 'a way of acting that differentiates some acts from others', or else 'culturally specific strategies for setting some activities off from others'.[94] The second is an adoption of the question of efficacy itself, or whether or not a ritual works or achieves its desired end.[95] Importantly, this study is less concerned with if festive practices actually worked – difficult to prove – and more with if people *perceived* a festive practice to have efficacy, and therefore to be worth enacting. Further still, while many studies of ritual concentrate on its cosmological/physical/transformative (metaphysical) power, this study is more interested in social power – hence'social' efficacy – and how other forms of ritual power, like the metaphysical, also did work on a social level. For example, when a medieval priest performed the transformative ritual of the eucharist, he simultaneously garnered social capital in the eyes of the congregation through demonstration of sacred power. To honour these distinctions during analysis and understand how they worked together in practice, festive social efficacy is broken down into the three components or 'sub-efficacies' (i.e. manners in which an effect could be achieved on the level of social relations). Firstly, social efficacy proper relates to the ability of a festival to make an impact through occasions and actions of social solidarity, social exclusion, friendship, power brokerage, capital exchange, etc. (for e.g. celebrations and sports at Eastertide bolstering local economy). Secondly, symbolic efficacy refers to the ability of ritual languages like the carnivalesque or the Catholic liturgy to signal something socially influential through the medium of a festival,

[93] Where details and sources are scarce, interpretation can sound similar to classic social functionalism, which is indeed still useful for drawing basic conclusions. However, one could perhaps be safe in assuming that some degree of subtly is always present in life, it just usually goes unrecorded. As will be shown, political contexts in particular often reveal individuals playing off the basic social functions of a festive practice to achieve some more precise end. To enlist the old metaphor of the body, while function implies an organ with a set job, efficacy perhaps should evoke the hand, with dexterity (i.e. the flexibility to achieve many actions) its overriding attribute.
[94] C. M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), xv, 74.
[95] On ritual efficacy see especially W. S. Sax, 'Ritual and the Problem of Efficacy', in W. S. Sax, J. Quack, and J. Weinhold (eds.), *The Problems of Ritual Efficacy* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 3-16.

and also the ability of certain festive practices or entire festivals to epitomise/symbolize an action or idea (e.g. the representation of Christ's resurrection in Easter Sunday liturgy communicating a message of Christ's grace to the congregation). Finally, physical efficacy refers to that ability of festive time or custom to enact being, or in other words psycho-physically transform or alter people (or objects which affect people) as social beings (e.g. pre-Reformation Easter Sunday communion consecration making Christ physically present in the host and then present in the congregation).[96] In the study which follows, Shrovetide customs are examined for these different types of social efficacy at the point of practice, with an eye to how the social, symbolic and physical interacted and informed each other, and how this depended on tradition.

As the Easter Sunday examples suggest, a festive frame could give distinct power to the rituals enacted within it. Rather than focusing solely on what was efficacious in all or most premodern British festive culture, this thesis analyses what set Shrovetide apart. Indeed, it argues that the powerful distinctions within the joint agricultural, religious, and social calendar must be carefully honoured (i.e. beyond superficial recognition of difference) if we are to grasp agency and intention in festive practice. When the pancake bell rings, what does it bring? By understanding what specific power Carnival time garnered, we can begin to make out the contours of the tools it provided for social and political action. The final step, of course, is to root all the above in real times, places and people, to understand who our festive agents were, and why they may have picked up these tools to alter or preserve structures – in short, to make this cultural history a social one as well.

Structure and Sources: Empiricism and the Longue durée

The thesis is structured into four chapters, each built around the history, or tradition, of one type of Shrovetide custom as enacted by a particular social group within premodern British society. Briefly, these are the feasting customs of peasants and servants (Chapter 1), football customs of civic institutions (Chapter 2), court spectacles of royals and nobles (Chapter 3), and rioting customs of urban commonalities (Chapter 4). The aim in each chapter is to discern

[96] On this particular aspect of ritual and its decline during the early modern period, and by extension (alleged) absence from modern Western society, much has been written. For an overview of what he calls 'the doctrine of presence' in ritual, and its shift to the 'theory of representation' over the course of the early modern period, see Muir,1-11.

change and stasis in each tradition, identify the (often many) reasons for these, and demonstrate within the latter the active use and manipulation of festive culture to shape environments, through an appreciation of meaning, significance and historical context. Although each chapter can stand alone, together they contribute to the overarching argument, and in the process construct a history of Shrovetide in England, Scotland, and to a much lesser degree Wales from the earliest surviving records (c.1170) to around the end of the seventeenth century, when, as explained above in this introduction, the British festival began its very slow decline in prominence. Put simply, this is the story of Shrovetide at the height of its (national) significance.[97]

Though an ambitiously large time-range, this should be regarded less as strict demarcation, and more as loose frame for a series of much tighter temporal foci. Although each chapter considers the medieval and early modern history of a Shrovetide custom, close analysis is centred on more defined temporal contexts, based on source survival or the limited extent of certain traditions. Not only this, the seemingly broad geographic scope also becomes more restricted as the thesis progresses. The combined result is that the heart of analysis in Chapter 1 lies in a fourteenth-century regional survey of England, Chapter 2 in a set of urban case studies dispersed throughout the British Isles from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, Chapter 3 in close case studies of peripatetic royal courts of sixteenth-century England and Scotland, and Chapter 4 in a prosopography of early Stuart Londoners. By incidental but fortuitous virtue then, the thesis is structured thematically yet progresses in an overlapping chronological manner; each chapter stands on its own, but also builds upon the last, so that Chapter 4’s analysis of Shrovetide rioting benefits in pivotal ways from the chapters that came before.

Each chapter is grounded in separate datasets of empirical evidence (compiled in the appendices) garnered from original and extensive archival work, as well as additional source collecting. From the results, the *longue durée* of Shrovetide traditions are mapped out and then contextualized at certain points of change or continuity. As will become apparent in the individual chapters themselves, they are not structured around plodding narrative descriptions, but rather the specific questions and problems which arise from the material and results. In

[97] The word national really must be stressed here, for in a few small towns scattered about the island Shrovetide ball games are still played, and the festival remains THE great holiday of the year.

effect, there is a different story at the heart of each chapter. Chapter 1 primarily utilizes a regionally varied sample of manorial accounts stored at The National Archives in Kew to survey medieval traditions of Shrovetide feasting and gift-giving and discern how they inflected and developed relations between servants and masters over time. Chapter 2 uses newly discovered evidence from archives in London, Dublin, Perth, Carlisle and Chester, alongside supporting evidence from many other sites in Britain to analyze the late medieval rise and early modern perpetuation of civic-sponsored football and pageantry in the face of enduring legal prohibitions against the same sport. Chapter 3 analyses a dataset of over 950 Tudor court revels, based on the important collective calendaring efforts of theatre historians as well as treasury and household records from the National Records of Scotland, and the English Office of Revels at TNA. It examines the advent and growth of Shrovetide court revelry and drama in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its dynamic relationship to images and expressions of royal power. Finally, Chapter 4 focuses on protest, discontent and sedition expressed through Shrovetide rioting in seventeenth-century British cities, but most particularly early Stuart London. It uses judicial session records from the London Metropolitan Archives to construct a social history of the riots and rioters, relying on a collated dataset of the names, professions, residences and targets of over 250 individuals and 50 crowd disturbances. Where possible, the thesis attempts quantitative analysis of such datasets, parsing results with qualitative analysis to reach conclusions.[98] Bits of information are assembled from the terse entries of financial accounts or judicial records, and like individual pixels they are brought together to form an image, which is then given contour and contrast through examinations of related narrative material.

The result is a thesis with the following primary aims:

1. To create a social and cultural history of a significant yet neglected British festival which thereby enables future regional and/or comparative research in festive studies;
2. To emphasize and deconstruct the interplay between structure and human agency through an application of practice-based approaches to festive tradition;

[98] In the case of Chapters 1 and 2, the datasets are more akin to survey results, with new information about the extent and nature of Shrovetide customs mapped out and subjected to comparative analysis. More rigorous quantitative techniques are not usually possible in such cases, but they have been pursed in Chapters 3 and 4, where the survival and quantity of source material allows for it. This is explained further in the respective chapters and appendices.

3. To demonstrate that festive culture was a powerful and malleable instrument in medieval and early modern societies which people used strategically, through an interplay between inherited script and improvisation, to shape their lived environments;
4. And to, by virtue of the former, show festive culture’s major role, not as a static reflection of structural norms, or mechanical outlet for societal needs, but as a dynamic mediator in medieval and early modern social, political, and economic landscapes, which is therefore worthy of continued serious and intensive historical study.

Put more plainly, this thesis tells a story of people conversing with their past to make their present, all under the aegis of a forgotten Carnival.

CHAPTER 1

TIME OF FEASTS & FELLOWSHIP
Shrovetide Rural Food-Gifts, Social Relations and Crafting the Worker's Holiday

The bakehouse keeper delivers to every grange and workshop a portion of fine flour, which is to be made on Shrove Tuesday into enough pancakes for the number of hired workers.

- Beaulieu Abbey, 1270 (Account-book)[1]

During the late thirteenth century, the monastic community of Beaulieu Abbey, nestled in the New Forest of Hampshire, celebrated Shrovetide as one of its chief festivals of the year. Surviving account books from 1269-70 set out in meticulous detail the daily life of the Cistercian monks, their lay brothers (*conversi*), and the hired staff (*familia*) of the abbey and its lands.[2] Tables and ordinances outline how the many workshops and granges (i.e. Cistercian manors) within the abbey's control were intended to run, while attendant manorial accounts record actual practice during the given year. Taken together, they provide a remarkably full picture of a medieval rural community and its festive customs.[3] Every Shrove Tuesday, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints, the workers from the abbey, granges and workshops were entitled to a pittance, or special meal in addition to their normal stipendiary

[1] 'Custos pistrini liberat…Singulis grangiis et officinis aliquam porciunculam simile in Camiprivio ad laganas faciendas pro numero et quantitate familie': *The Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbe* [*ABBA*], ed. S. F. Hockey (Camden Society, 4th ser. 16; London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1975), 291.

[2] Within the account books, *familia* typically refers to all hired staff, *familia curie* to the servants of the abbey complex proper, and *famuli* to stipendiary labourers in general. More will be said about the distinctions within these servile ranks below, but for a summary on the abbey's workers see *ABBA*, 19-20, 36.

[3] On the dating, context and other practical details of the account books see *ABBA*, 1-43. For the history of the monastery see S. F. Hockey, *Beaulieu, King John's Abbey: A History of Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire, 1204-1538* (Beaulieu: Pioneer Publications, 1976). And on the more general history of the Cistercians and their way of life in medieval Europe see especially D. H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998); J. E. Burton and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011).

fare.[4] All stipendiary workers (*famuli*) received food gifts on these five days, but the table and accounts of the abbey larder, or slaughterhouse, indicate that certain workers, as well as certain occasions, were further set apart:

> On Shrove Tuesday, the hired staff of the abbey also have a special portion of food from the said keeper of the larder, except for the stable grooms, porter and guest-house servants, who on that day feast in the lay infirmary.[5]

For the latter feast, the infirmary kitchen provided each servant with potage, two loaves of bread, and two servings of meat and cheese, washed down with a gallon of 'good beer'.[6] Consisting mostly of fifteen to twenty of the youngest abbey staff, these workers were often joined by visiting guests of similar rank, and the servants of lay brothers who had travelled in for the solemn occasion from the abbey's more far flung territories.[7] Usually, the other paid staff of the abbey complex (*familia curie*) and the six nearby granges of the Great Close collected their feast day pittance from the guest-house kitchen.[8] On Shrove Tuesday, however, *familia curie* were also entitled to extra beef and mutton from the slaughterhouse, as indicated above. Moreover, as stipulated in the opening quote, on that day all ploughmen, shepherds, cowmen, cooks and other *famuli* from within the abbey and without received pancakes specially made in their respective places of work. To furnish enough Shrovetide meals, treats and feasts for well over one hundred workers, the carcasses of twenty sheep and half a cow were allocated from stock each year, while the bake-house reserved a share of the finest white flour.[9]

The annual practices of Beaulieu Abbey demonstrate festive time's value to the maintenance of medieval social relations, but also suggest the significance of specific festive occasions to

[4] *ABBA*, 125, 177, 185, 275.
[5] 'Habet eciam familia curie in Carniprivio pitanciam de dicto custode lardarie, preter garciones stabulorum portarium secularem servientes hospicii qui commedunt illa die in infirmitorio seculari': *ABBA*, 185.
[6] *ABBA*, 177-9.
[7] Lay brothers or *conversi* oversaw these lands but returned to the abbey frequently for Sundays and the major feast days of the year. When they did so they naturally brought grooms with them. 'Garciones vero stabulorum necnon et manerii de Farendon' Cornubia Burgat' Suberton' et Norton' in Insula1 quando cum monachis aut conversis ad abbaciam veniunt quinque diebus in anno, videlicet in die Natalis Domini Carniprivii Pasche Pentecostes et Omnium Sanctorum commedere solent in infirmitorio seculari': *ABBA*, 259, and also 21. More will be said about these additional territories below.
[8] 'die Natalis Domini Carniprivii Pasche Pentecostes et Omnium Sanctorum singulis annis famuli grangiarum ab hospitalariis solent recipere pitanciam': *ABBA*, 125.
[9] 'In pitancia familie curie dim. carcoysium in Carniprivio [Carcoysia vaccarum]'; 'In pitancia familie curie in Carniprivio xx [Carcoysia ovium]': *ABBA*, 186-7, 291.

distinct social identities. On all five feast days, hired staff received special treatment from their Cistercian masters. The food offered was exceptional in quantity and quality: meat, cheese, butter and eggs accented the normal daily diet of pottage; higher grades of bread replaced the usual low; and the strongest beer stood in place of inferior mixtures.[10] Access opened to forbidden spaces, as stable grooms and servants feasted together in a hall typically reserved for the treatment of the infirm.[11] But if all five major festivals of the abbey offered these privileges to workers, in other ways Shrove Tuesday stood above and apart. It was the only day when the abbey's staff received extra meat from the larder, and the sole occasion when a dish, the pancake, was made in the workers' honour. Furthermore, even though *famuli* were entitled to pittances on five feast days, the accounts of the abbey's workshops and the six granges of the Great Close only record expenditure for pittances at Shrovetide (*in pitancia famulorum in Carniprivio*).[12] This suggests food gifts were provided on Shrove Tuesday by individual departments, in addition to the customary special meals received at the guest-house of the abbey on the same day – a situation which likely arose from the fact that workers did not receive the day off on Shrove Tuesday as they did on the other four feasts days.[13] They therefore received their food gifts directly from their *conversi* masters amidst a day of labour. In several respects then, the account book suggests Shrove Tuesday was an occasion central to the bond between master and servant and particularly resonant to the medieval worker.

Although contextually different in terms of time, place, and source, the Shrove Tuesday customs of medieval Beaulieu Abbey bear striking resemblance to those portrayed in the fictional landscape of Thomas Dekker's comedy, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, written at the end of the sixteenth century and based on Thomas Deloney's contemporary work *The Gentle Craft*.[14] In the final scenes of the play, a fifteenth-century mayor of London, Simon Eyre

[10] In addition to 'duo fercula carnium…et caseum', the *famuili* enjoying the feast in the lay infirmary received 'panes conventuales et hospitum' (the two highest grades of bread) instead of the normal 'panem familie'. They also received 'bone cervisie' (the highest quality of beer) as opposed to usual dilutions of first and second tier beer: *ABBA*, 178-9, 177 cf. 294-5, 178 cf. 232. On the normal diet versus the pittance see *ABBA*, 36.
[11] Grooms normally ate their meals in the stables: *ABBA*, 20. On the infirmary see Ibid, 34.
[12] This pattern is apparent in the accounts of all the granges of the Great Close, as well as many of the workshops of the abbey complex: *ABBA*, 133, 136, 139-41, 146-7, 153, 159, 165, 183, 193, 210, 220-1, 227, 266, 282, 298.
[13] The account books denote which holidays or half-holidays the *conversi* and *famuli* were entitled to (*quibus diebus non laborant conversi et famuli*). In addition to certain saint's days and holy days associated with the Virgin Mary, they received Christmas and the three days following, Easter and the two days following, Pentecost and the two days following, and All Saints. Carniprivium is not mentioned in this list: *ABBA*, 316.
[14] Thomas Deloney published *The Gentle Craft* in 1597, and Dekker used the pamphlet as his source in writing *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. The play probably premiered in the commercial playhouses in late 1599, before being performed at Queen Elizabeth's court on New Year's Day, 1600. On the play's performance, publication and relationship to Deloney's work see E. T. Lin, 'Festivity,' in H. S. Turner (ed.), *Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 212-229.

provides a Shrovetide banquet for all the apprentices of the city.[15] At the sound of the pancake bell, a horde of youthful indentured craftsmen quit their work and stream into the mayor’s newly built Leadenhall, wherein, according to Eyre, ‘the slaves had an hundred tables five times covered’.[16] Thus assembled, the ‘crew of good fellows’ endeavour to ‘feed and be fat with [their] lord’s bounty’, which includes a mouthwatering seasonal assortment of venison pasties, beef and brews, fritters and pancakes, hens and oranges, collops and eggs, and tarts and custards.[17] Simon Eyre does not stop with this single feast but extends his largess across the ages, claiming ‘I have procur’d that upon every Shrove-Tuesday, at the sound of the pancake bell, my fine dapper Assyrian lads shall clap up their shop windows, and away’.[18] Hearing news of this perennial gift, the shoemaker apprentices proclaim their new holiday an annual ‘year of jubilee’, which ‘shall continue for ever’, and in thanks promise to pray for their ‘brave lord of incomprehensible good-fellowship’.[19]

Dekker, following Deloney, thus created a medieval origin-story for the Shrove Tuesday holiday and its pancake bell, ascribing what by his time had become a common celebration of London servants, artisans and youth to the past benevolence of a late medieval mayor.[20] While an apocryphal attribution, Dekker’s fictious Shrove Tuesday banquet certainly mirrors the actual feasts held at Beaulieu Abbey over three centuries prior. In both cases young men of artisanal or servile rank dined together on rich dishes of meat, dairy and pancakes in a great hall normally reserved for other purposes. In both cases food, feasting or time-off was given to a lower subset of the community defined by its relationship to labour. Indeed, the only obvious difference between the two examples effectively illustrates how closely toil was associated

[15] Eyre was a historical figure; an apprenticed upholder who transferred to the more prestigious Draper’s Company of London, he was elected mayor in 1445 and oversaw the rebuilding of the Leadenhall in Cornhill. For more information on the historical Eyre, and his fictional derivatives, see C. M. Barron, ‘Eyre, Simon (c.1395–1458)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, January 2008 (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52246; B. Walsh, ‘Performing Historicity in Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*,’ *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 46.2 (2006), 323–48.
[16] Thomas Dekker, *The shomaker’s holiday*, (London, 1600), sig. K4v.
[17] Dekker, sig. I3v-I4r.
[18] Dekker, sig. H4r-v.
[19] Dekker, sig. I4r.
[20] It is not clear if this medieval ‘origin story’ was purely of Deloney’s invention or had folkloric basis, but as stated in *The Gentle Craft*: ‘And Shrove Tuesday being come, the Lord Maior sent word to the aldermen that in their severall wards they should signifie his mind to the citizens to crave their favours that their prentises might come to his house to breakfast, and that for his sake they might play all the day after. Hereupon it was ordered that at the ringing of a bell in every parish, the prentises should leave work and shut up their shops for that day; which being ever since yeerly observed, it is called the Pancake Bell’. Thomas Deloney, *The Gentle Craft*, ed. A. F. Lange (Berlin: Mayer and Muller, 1903), 95. It is interesting to note that Deloney’s fictitious mayoral orders here contrast sharply with real mayoral precepts from the 1590s forbidding apprentices etc. from having a holiday during Shrovetide. These precepts will be discussed more below and in later chapters.

with the day of celebration. While the London apprentices received a half-holiday, the Cistercian's *famuli* did not receive any extra time off at all. On Shrove Tuesday, unlike for example Christmas or Easter, work and play always rubbed shoulders.

Such similarities over time and space suggest that the English tradition of Shrovetide gifts to servants and workers, endured from the medieval into the early modern period and retained its emphasis on food. While there are many practical differences to consider between a rural medieval *famulus* and an urban early modern apprentice, these two examples are by no means unique in connecting Shrove Tuesday to labourers and youth, as will be demonstrated below. This chapter is concerned with this apparent continuity in festive tradition, its extent in the medieval period and on-going efficacy to master/servant relations and youth/worker identities. It attempts the first survey of such medieval Shrovetide customs in the scholarship, to determine their prevalence and nature in England and Wales prior to the Reformation. It then briefly considers the tradition's iterations and general survival in Britain during the early modern period. By analysing such findings, the aim is to show how gift-giving and the consumption of food within a specific seasonal context 'worked' to establish, maintain and embody premodern identities on social, symbolic and sometimes psychosomatic levels.

In the last thirty years, there has been a surge of scholarly interest in food, feasting, and gift-giving among medievalists and early modernists, largely due to interdisciplinary cross-pollination between sociologists, anthropologists and socio-cultural historians over the preceding decades.[21] Since the 1990s, scholars have increasingly brought food out from the margins of historical discourse, considering the practicalities of its production and nutrition, as well as its symbolic, social and political efficacy to premodern societies.[22] Food's socio-

[21] For a good and fairly recent summary of this 'surge', see the introductory essay to a special issue of *Medieval History* on the subject of food-gifts: K. Lars and A.J. Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages', *Medieval History*, 37:1, 1-5. The other articles in this special issue are of course pertinent as well.

[22] Chris Woolgar's work has consistently been at the vanguard of this field in medieval studies, starting with his influential publication on English medieval household accounts, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, 2 vols. (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 17–18; Oxford: OUP, 1992–3). For a recent overview of the subject see his 'Food and the Middle Ages', *Medieval History*, 36 (2009), 1–19. On production and nutrition see C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, (Oxford: OUP, 2006). For the culture of food and its broader place within medieval society see especially C. M. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). See also M. Carlin and J.T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998). For early modern society see for e.g. J. Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500–1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); K. Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); T.J. Tomasik and J.M. Vitullo (eds.), *At the table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 18; Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

political utility has most often been treated in studies of the feast, an area of long and abiding interest for medievalists in particular.[23] As it combines consumption with the act of giving, the feast is often discussed in terms of sociability, hospitality, largesse and charity. At times theories of gift exchange have entered into the latter literature, but traditionally food has not received as much attention as other objects in studies of the gift.[24] As Chris Woolgar has noted, this may be because such studies usually focus on high status gifts of permanence, while food gifts were an ephemeral and socially ubiquitous 'common currency of daily life'.[25] Nonetheless, interest in the subject has increased in the last decade, led for premodern England by Woolgar (a medievalist) and Felicity Heal (an early modernist).[26] The former and latter point out that food gifts closely resemble the food sharing of the feast, and at times it is impossible to distinguish between them in the records.[27] They contend that free exchanges of foodstuff, as well as offerings of communal meals, endured through both periods as 'nuanced and subtle ways to manage and effect social relationships'.[28] Trading on symbolic as well as real capital and connected to ideas of commensality and the relief of need, food gifts were essential tools of reciprocity 'which established and developed the bonds of good lordship and clientage' between master and servant or landlord and tenant.[29]

---

[23] See in particular C. W. Bynum *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987); C.M. Woolgar, 'Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century', in M. Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), 7–25; L. Kjær, 'Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265', *Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 75–89; L. Crombie, 'Honour, Community and Hierarchy in the Feasts of the Archery and Crossbow Guilds of Bruges, 1445–81', *Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 102–113; and most recently the contributions in W. Jezierski et al. (eds.) *Rituals, Performatives, and Political Order in Northern Europe, C. 650-1350* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). For the early modern period see especially F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), esp. 23-90.

[24] Medievalists have largely focused on pious giving, such as the aristocratic endowment of land and money to religious institutions, or alms-giving, interpreting such practices variably as strategies for social and spiritual gain. See for e.g. J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy*, 1307–1485 (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972); and the overview of the field in A. A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Medieval Studies and Sources, 104; Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 17–50. Early modernists, on the other hand, have tended to fix on the political implications of gift-giving and patronage in princely courts. See for e.g. L. L. Peck, '"For a King Not to Be Bountiful Were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', *British Studies* 25.1 (1986), 31-61; L. G. Barrow, '"The Kynge Sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a Grett Tame Hart": Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV 1502-13', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 21, 1, (2004), 65–84; and most recently Felicity Heal's new work on the subject in England, which aims to apply an understanding of early modern gift-giving 'to the study of the exercise of power between the early years of the Tudor regime and the Restoration period'. See in particular her useful overview of theory and historiography: *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 3-30, quote at 6.

[25] C.M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Medieval History*, 37:1 (2011), 8-9.

[26] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', 6-18; F. Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 199, 1 (2008), 41-70.

[27] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', 8; Heal, 'Food Gifts', 44.

[28] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', 17.

[29] Heal, 'Food Gifts', 45.

As with food gifts, the study of seasonal festive giving has suffered from an incompatibility with traditional academic models of the gift. According to Heal, gift theorists sometimes perceive annual presents to have 'less cultural influence than those of delayed exchange' and therefore less to tell us about how relationships work in Western societies. While an unfortunate stance to assume bar none, Heal argues such an omission 'would be culpable in any study of the pre-industrial period'.[30] Indeed, several more recent studies have demonstrated the central position of seasonal giving in early modern society. Natalie Zemon Davis, for example, has discerned a 'repertoire' or language of the gift in sixteenth-century France, with distinct categories or vocabularies built around the occasion of giving and social identity of the giver.[31] Her analysis of French seasonal giving includes Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Lent, Easter and Pentecost, finding each occasion provided opportunity for general offerings of sociability and charity simultaneously connected to the specific liturgical symbolism of the feast day.[32] Heal herself makes similar allusion to the seasonal round of festive gifts in early modern England. Particularly salient for the present discussion, she points out how customary gifts were sometimes reserved for certain social castes on certain feast days, such as ploughmen on Plough Monday or beggars on Maundy Thursday.[33] Most of Heal's study, however, focuses on the gifts of Christmastide and particularly New Year, when people throughout Christendom and up and down social strata engaged in gift exchange to some degree or fashion. Unsurprising for such a ubiquitous and enduring tradition, studies of New Year's gifts make up the largest, and nigh-on the entire proportion of literature on medieval and early modern seasonal giving in Britain.[34] Beyond a few recent exceptions, the focus of the latter studies is usually on elites seeking or conferring favour through their New Year's Day exchanges.[35]

---

[30] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 69.

[31] N. Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 1-35.

[32] Davis, 36-42, at 42: 'the gifts took on meaning from the day on which they were presented. If God's gifts initiated the occasion, then human gifts should bear with them an extra freight of gratitude'.

[33] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 68.

[34] M. Hayward, 'Gift-giving at the Court of Henry VIII: The 1539 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), 125-175; L. M. Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.2 (1997), 459-93; J. A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* Oxford: OUP for the British Academy, 2013), 1-29; Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 67-84; Sophie Cope, 'Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Studies*, 6 (2017), 89-111. English medievalists have not explored seasonal giving as much as their early modern counterparts, though Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', 8-9 does touch upon the subject. But for a significant article on the medieval Valois court of France see B. Buettner, 'Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400', *Art Bulletin*, 83, (2001), 598-625. For an overview and analysis of Chrismastide generosity, hospitality and gift-giving in medieval and early modern Britain see R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 9-24.

[35] Naturally, this emphasis largely springs from the narrow range of source material surviving. Felicity Heal, however, moves beyond New Year's gift-giving between elites to consider landlord-tenant, master-servant, and peer to peer gifts, as well as the idea of the New Year's gift in seasonal sermons and literature: Heal, *Power of*

While useful on a conceptual and comparative level, the rich historiography outlined above provides little in the way of direct evidence or discussion of Shrovetide gifts, be they medieval or early modern. Significantly, Davis's survey of seasonal gifts in France goes from Epiphany to Lent and Easter, with no mention of any Carnival gifts or other examples of generosity in between.[36] English sources are likewise silent, though this is less surprising considering the comparatively small amount of scholarly attention British Shrovetide has received. Ronald Hutton does discuss Shrovetide begging and gift giving traditions among children and adults, but only in the context of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[37] As he says, heretofore there has been no evidence, and certainly no medieval evidence, presented that comparable practices occurred before the eighteenth century in the British Isles.[38] Hutton also denotes the spirit of hospitality and conviviality underlying Shrovetide feasting traditions, and the festival's close association with servants and apprentices – something recognized by scholars of English youth culture as well.[39] Indeed, most scholars recognize that Carnival essentially epitomised food and feasting in the medieval and early modern period, and that lower orders throughout Europe enjoyed more freedom on the day. Nonetheless, this relationship between Carnival food and servant has rarely been analysed more closely, while the holiday's special resonance to 'the worker', rather than just the servant or child, has all but been ignored. Furthermore, within studies of Carnival, the feast or banquet often plays second fiddle to the more provocative,

Gifts, 67-84; Heal, 'Food Gifts', 49-51. Sophie Cope's recent article breaks the mould in its conceptual approach to dated earthen-ware drinking bottles, likely offered as New Year's gifts in seventeenth-century England. Providing ideas relevant to the discussion of identity and festive gifts below, Cope argues that for early moderns, such New Year's gifts were not solely passive tokens of affection or deference which facilitated social bonding, but also objects which actively influenced the coming year and embodied relationships and communities: Cope, 108.

[36] She highlights the Lenten period as the giving season most inflected by Christian ideas of charity. Her focus, however, is on donations to the church and Maundy Thursday offerings to the poor: Davis, 39-41. Carnival begging and gift-giving rituals have been given more treatment elsewhere. They have been noted in some early modern German-speaking communities, where youths or children went door to door with small trees or branches chanting rhymes in exchange for food or money. During the fifteenth century, schoolboys and youths received Shrovetide rewards in some towns of the Low Countries. See A. Mand, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 85; M. de Roos, 'Battles and Bottles: Shrovetide Performances in the Low Countries (c.1350-c.1550)', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 172.

[37] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 163-7.

[38] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 163-4. Peter Robson, who has studied the nineteenth century customs most closely, first conjectured that they might be connected to doles from medieval monastic communities: P. Robson, 'Calendar Customs in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Dorset' (unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Sheffield M.Phil, 1988), 182-206. This potential link will be discussed later in this chapter.

[39] See for e.g. N. Orme, 'The Culture of Children in Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 148 (1995), 67-8; I. K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 183-207; P. Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 140-69; J. Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 104-107; E. Lamb, 'Youth Culture', in A. Hadfield, M. Dimmock, A. Shinn (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 31-42.

usually mimetic customs associated with the occasion. There seems to be a perception that the only thing which separated a Carnival feast from other feasts in the year was the excess of food and sheer symbolic emphasis placed upon it.[40] In other words, aside from the obviously different liturgical backgrounds, a Carnival feast was an Easter feast was a Christmas feast in terms of the hospitality, charity and largesse conveyed. Likewise, the freedom of servants and the young is usually attributed to the wildness, the increased license and the suspension of hierarchy regularly attributed to Shrovetide or festivity in general.[41] These traditional Carnival interpretations meet immediate resistance in the two examples already discussed.

For the communities of Beaulieu Abbey and Dekker's fictional London, space was temporarily opened to servants by the generosity of masters, and fellowship within these ranks encouraged on Shrove Tuesday. In neither scenario, however, was hierarchy seemingly suspended, or social inversion sanctioned (i.e. high made low, low made high). Eyre does not appear to have dined with the apprentices, the Cistercian monks and lay brothers ate their own diet in separate refectories, and though the workers received better fare, it was still apportioned based on rank.[42] Certainly, masters did not serve the servants in either case. Nor can the feasts be easily read as 'keeping people in their place' through a temporary release, *à la* safety-valve. Though rank was affirmed and maintained, the feasts benefitted parties whose very servile status was temporary or negotiable. Early modern apprentices would one day be free; many medieval *famuli* were already freemen who could (theoretically) move to new work once a yearly contract ended.[43] Indeed, contracts, both practical and spiritual, are what such feasting seemed to affirm. In return for their annual day of freedom, Simon Eyre assumed the apprentices would pray for him perpetually.[44] Presumably the Cistercian monks desired their stipendiary workers to return the next year. Within both contexts then, Shrovetide gift giving and feasting appears more transactional than (inherently) subversive or controlling: freedom, honour, sustenance for

[40] See for e.g. the oft-repeated incident of the butchers of Konigsberg processing through the streets during Carnival carrying a 440 lb. sausage: P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 265.

[41] Peter Burke for e.g. cites the liberty of servants in England on Shrove Tuesday as an example of the topsy turvy, specifically the inversion of master and servant relations: *Popular Culture*, 270. See also B. Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Social History*, 3, 3 (1978), 314. E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 89-90.

[42] See also the abbey's bread allotments for Christmas, which allowed higher quality breads than normal, yet still ranked quantities and types according to profession: *ABBA*, 293-6.

[43] This is not to argue that the workers would have had the means or true ability to do so, or that this lord-servant relationship was in any way equal. Furthermore, the status of the *famulus* during the medieval period cannot be essentialized with any surety- evidence (discussed below) suggest *famuli* could be unfree or free. The *famuli* of Beaulieu Abbey, however, would have been free, as Cistercians did not (usually) use serfs on their lands.

[44] As Eyre exclaims in the play: 'boyes, that day are you frée, let masters care, and prentises shall pray for Simon Eyre': Dekker, sig. H4v.

workers in exchange for future service and loyalty, all on a holiday distinct from others in the temporal proximity to labour and increased recognition of the worker.

Expanding on these preliminary examples, this chapter calls for a more careful treatment of festive food and giving customs which fully honours the distinct seasonal contexts of such practices and the consequences thereof. It argues that the internal characteristics of Shrovetide, borne of interconnected religious, agricultural and social associations, set the giving and feasting of the occasion apart from similar practices at other times of the festive year. In this way downward giving was encouraged to specific subsets of society, establishing two-way social contracts. Overtime such contracts resulted in a day of privilege for workers and youths, affirming bonds between superiors and inferiors while also celebrating the identities of the latter group. To demonstrate this, the next sections present the results of a preliminary survey of Shrovetide gift-giving in medieval England and Wales based primarily on manorial accounts. It will be followed by sections which analyse the nature and beneficiaries of such gifts.

Preliminary Survey of Shrovetide Gift Giving in England and Wales (c.1200-1500)

The traditional pittances of meat received by the *famuli* of Beaulieu Abbey raise many questions about medieval festive traditions and how they developed, spread and endured. While one can safely assume that the feast days of All Saints, Christmas, Shrove Tuesday, Easter and Pentecost were celebrated in thirteenth-century households and churches across England with appropriate feasting and generosity, it cannot be taken for granted that an institution or lord would give workers bonuses of money or food upon these days.[45] As this section will demonstrate, medieval lords, particularly before the Black Death, only occasionally sponsored feasts outside of harvest-time. Indeed, the Cistercian monks of Beaulieu Abbey were uncommonly generous in granting five feasts per year, although they were equally ungenerous in the number of holidays they allowed.[46] While such holidays, known as *festa ferianda*, were

[45] These feast days were well entrenched in the Christian calendar by this time, though of course customary practices would have varied considerably by region and locality. See the pertinent chapters in Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*.

[46] The *famuli* of Beaulieu Abbey received twenty-five days off, in addition to all Sundays and afternoons on major vigils. During Christmastide they received a total of three days, Eastertide and Whitsuntide only two each. This put them well below the manorial norm, which usually included twelve days or a fortnight holiday for Christmastide, and one week a piece for Easter and Whitsun. On average serfs received between 40 to 50 holidays, while manorial famuli received between 30 and 40: *ABBA*, 21, 316 cf. C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200–1520* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989, 223; B. F. Harvey, 'Work and *Festa Ferianda* in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), 299.

mandated by the church and sometimes the crown, gratuitous offerings of food and money remained the jurisdiction of the lord.[47] But did the Shrovetide privileges described above derive entirely from managerial convention or was there an element of obligation and customary expectation in them? If the latter was the case, can a regional basis for such customs be discerned, or was institutional practice itself responsible for spreading traditions regionally? Taking a closer look at Beaulieu Abbey's history and management may provide some initial clues.

King John founded the abbey in the years 1203-4, endowing it with land in Hampshire, and with the ancient royal manor of Faringdon. Thirty monks from the mother-abbey of the Cistercian Order, Citeaux, soon settled in the New Forest, creating a contrast between English land and French founders which further complicates our picture.[48] How many of the customs and practices codified in the account-book of 1270 derived from French Cistercian conventions, how many developed in the intervening years, and how many came with the endowed land and its people? We can answer confidently that those practices pertaining to the monks and *conversi* followed closely the Cistercian interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, for the abbey was subject to the scrutiny of regular visitations from the mother-house.[49] The derivation of managerial conventions for secular servants and labourers, however, is harder to establish. When the abbey received the manor of Faringdon, for example, it came with the trappings of manorialism which the Cistercians normally tried to eschew. The granges of these lands were managed by reeves, appointed from a population of tenants who had customary obligations as well as rights, all carefully noted in the Faringdon account-book.[50] While the *famuli* working in the New Forest were not serfs tied to the land, Cistercian stipendiary labour often came from the local area.[51] Like the tenants of Faringdon, New Forest workers may have carried certain expectations of how they traditionally should be treated on Shrove Tuesday and other occasions. Certainly, the table for the granges of the Great Close specified that workers were *accustomed* to receiving (*solent recipere*) pittances on the five feast days.[52] While this gets us no closer to the source of this custom, it does suggest that workers would have an expectation, if not also a right, to such food gifts.

[47] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 222-3; Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 76.
[48] They settled first in Faringdon but had moved to Beaulieu within a year: L. Butler and C. Given-Wilson, *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1979), 149-151.
[49] See for e.g. the provisions for visitations from Citeaux on *ABBA*, 177-9, 271-3, 316.
[50] *ABBA*, 11-12, 14. On the typical distinctions between the manorial system, serfdom and the Cistercian system, and the gradual erosion of these distinctions see Burton and Kerr, 149-88; Williams, 300-304.
[51] Burton and Kerr, 170.
[52] *ABBA*, 125.

Establishing the regional extent of the customary Shrovetide gift within the abbey's lands is slightly easier than understanding its origins. While none of the accounts for other granges outside the Great Close specify when *famuli* were entitled to pittances, they do record expenditure on pittances for unspecified times, with the amount spent implying multiple pittances per worker throughout the year.[53] Servants from granges outside the Great Close were entitled to a feast in the lay infirmary on the five high days when they accompanied their *conversi* master to the abbey.[54] Those *conversi* managing distant territories were also entitled to traditional pittances even when they could not travel to Beaulieu.[55] With these factors in mind, it is highly likely, though impossible to prove, that all *famuli* under the abbey's control, and not just those in the Great Close, received pittances on the same five feast days each year. Whatever the customary basis for Shrovetide feasts and food gifts from masters to servants, this suggests institutions played a key role in spreading such festive practices, in Beaulieu's case throughout Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Cornwall, the Isle of Wight and perhaps the lands of several daughter-houses.[56]

Although the records for Beaulieu Abbey are uniquely detailed, they admittedly represent a Cistercian system outside the manorial norm which, while common enough in Britain by the thirteenth century, was not native to it. To fully establish Beaulieu's representative or atypical qualities, and further query the customary or institutional basis behind such festive traditions, a preliminary survey has been conducted of Shrovetide gift-giving in England and Wales before the Reformation. The survey is formed of two parts, the first being a systematic sampling of manorial accounts and custumals held in The National Archives in Kew, and the second being a broader collection of evidence from both published and archival primary sources. The search criteria of the survey have been gifts or gratuity in some form given upon or related to Shrovetide, following a standard Maussian definition of the gift as 'any thing or series of things

[53] While the accounts of all granges and many of the workshops in the Great Close specify expenses for Shrovetide pittances, accounts for the Church of Faringdon, and the granges of Shilton, Little Faringdon with Langford, Inglesham, Wyke and Coxwell (*ABBA*, 56, 60, 65, 70, 78, 91) record pittances for unspecified occasions. This practice probably reflects the fact that granges outside the Great Close had to provide for themselves, while those from within the Great Close received their food and pittances from the abbey. Thus, all pittances were accounted for, while in the Great Close only Shrove Tuesday pittances needed accounting, because that was the only feast day when *famuli* worked and therefore took part of their pittances at the grange or workshop.

[54] *ABBA*, 260: Specifically, grooms from the manors of Faringdon, Cornwall, Burgate, Soberton, and Norton in Freshwater, Isle of Wight.

[55] *ABBA*, 306.

[56] See the Figure 3 map, which includes the manorial properties of Beulieu Abbey. The abbey founded four daughter houses: Netley (Hampshire), Hailes (Gloucestershire), St Mary Graces in London and Newenham (Devon): D. Robinson (ed.), *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men (London: Batsford, 1998), 69.*

given freely or out of obligation as a gift or in exchange'.[57] This includes the material (i.e. food and money), but also the temporal (gift of free-time) and spatial (gift of access to space). The latter two are difficult to track in records before the early modern period, but, as the Beaulieu account-book and Dekker's play imply, they are essential to an understanding of Shrovetide acts of generosity.[58]

For the first part of the survey, manorial accounts were examined from 88 (mostly) English manors held in the Duchy of Lancaster Collections and Special Collections of The National Archives.[59] All manors in the sample are represented by accounts dating from 1270-1380, a period of widespread demesne farming (i.e. direct management of land by the lord rather than the tenant). Accounts produced during this period, termed 'phase two' by the authority on English manorial records P. D. A. Harvey, typically display a high degree of detail and standardisation across time and space, as lords increasingly employed shared accounting strategies to run their estates more effectively and efficiently.[60] Thus, the manors in the sample were selected for their potential to contain detailed records of festive practices, particularly showing who received gifts and feasts when, and how this varied by manor, estate and region over time. Manorial custumals record the rights and obligations of customary tenantry and sometimes manorial *famuli*, including obligations for the former to give 'gifts' of rent in kind at certain feast days, and sometimes the right of the former and latter to receive feasts or other privileges on certain occasions.[61] Custumals survive in far fewer quantities than accounts, but those held in TNA and dating to the corresponding period were also surveyed.

Those manorial accounts surveyed came from twenty-six historic counties of England and two border counties of Wales. No more than five manors were examined per county, in order to maximise regional variation and coverage. While it was initially hoped to make the scope of

[57] M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies,* trans. I. Cunnison (London: Cohen and West, 1966), xi. The quote comes from the translator's note by Cunnison, where he clarifies the use of Mauss's term 'prestation'.

[58] For e.g. it is impossible to know if the Cistercians of Beaulieu Abbey gave their workers some type of informal half-holiday alongside their meals on Shrove Tuesday. But considering the careful delineation of acceptable half-holidays in the account books, and Shrove Tuesday's absence from this list, this seem unlikely.

[59] Some manors from Wales were also included. See Appendix A.1 for details and sources on these and all other manorial accounts examined in the survey.

[60] On the different phases in manorial accounting, the detail of phase two accounts, and the decline of these as demesne lands were increasingly leased out in the fifteenth century, see P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (London: British Records Association, 1984), 25-41; and also M. Bailey, *The English Manor c.1200- c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 97-166.

[61] According to Mark Bailey, 'a custumal extends beyond the tenurial obligations of landholders to encompass all the 'customs' of the manor in their broadest sense…': Bailey, 21. On medieval custumals and other types of survey see Harvey, *Manorial Records*, 15-24; Bailey, 21-95.

the sample national, this did not prove possible within time and budgetary constraints, and nor were the 'phase two' accounts available at The National Archives regionally varied enough to allow for this. As displayed in Figure 1, manors were examined from most counties in the east, southeast and southwest regions of England, as well as some of the southern counties in the east and west Midlands. The survey lacks coverage of the northeast, Yorkshire and Cornwall, with poor coverage of the northwest. Despite the geographic limitations of the sample, the area covered largely corresponds to the regional survival of manorial accounts from the period.[62] Both lay and ecclesiastic holdings are reflected in the sample, and though there is a preponderance of accounts from monastic estates, this too corresponds to trends in surviving material.[63] While part two of the survey (the broader collection of evidence beyond manorial accounts) focused solely upon Shrovetide, the archival survey (i.e. part one) made additional note of other festive giving reflected in the accounts, excepting the ubiquitous harvest feasts and boon works which have received substantial scholarly attention elsewhere.[64] Findings related to gifts to and from tenantry, also well covered in the scholarship, will be discussed briefly in a later section, as almost none of these relate to Shrovetide.[65]

Turning first to the results of the manorial account survey, evidence was found of feasts or monetary bonuses to stipendiary workers on special feast days in thirty out of the eighty-eight sample manors. Constituting both lay and ecclesiastical demesnes, a little over one-third of the sample and half of the counties represented (14 out of 28), the findings suggest a common but not ubiquitous practice of lords giving *famuli* gifts on certain significant days of the Christian calendar. Where series of accounts survive they often show the traditional nature of such gifts.[66] In some cases, however, traditional payments are absent for one or more years from an otherwise consistent series, perhaps due to a lapse in record keeping or a genuine break in

[62] Bailey, 112; J. Claridge and J. Langdon, 'The Composition of *Famuli* Labour on English Demesnes, c.1300', *Agricultural History Review*, 63, 2 (2015), 192.
[63] As Mark Bailey explains: 'The survival pattern of accounts is most complete from the estates of large, 'perpetual', institutions with the facilities to store a large archive, rather than from lesser lay estates prone to disruption and dispersal': *English Manor*, 112.
[64] The main difference between harvest rewards and feast day (holy day) rewards is that the former was in direct return for services rendered during the harvest. See for e.g. N. Nielson, 'Boon-Services on the Estates of Ramsey Abbey', *American Historical Review*, 2.2 (1897), 213-24; A. Jones, 'Harvest Customs and Labourers' Perquisites in Southern England, 1150–1350', *Agricultural History Review*, 25 (1977), 14–22; J. Birrell, 'Peasants Eating and Drinking', *Agricultural History Review*, 63, 1 (2015), 1-18. On the long-term history of harvest home feasts and celebrations in Britain see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 332-47.
[65] Customary tenants were often the main labour-force during the harvest, receiving feasts and other rewards as described in the works of the note above. Tenants also often received food/feasts in return for rent in kind at Christmas and Easter. This will be covered below, but see especially G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 268–9, 357-8, 365; Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 71-3.
[66] In other words, they appear annually, or near-annually in the accounts.

tradition.[67] This suggests that results for manors with only one or a few accounts surviving must be treated with caution, and that these preliminary results can at best be used for the positive identification of gift giving customs, rather than the negative identification of a lack of such practices.

Out of the thirty positive identifications, Christmas was the most ubiquitous occasion for offerings, followed closely in prevalence by Easter; this pattern lines up with what other historians have generally observed.[68] In most cases found, the holiday gifts do not total more than these two chief feasts of the Christian calendar, but when they do they rarely exceed three or four occasions. Other feast days encountered in the sample more than once include Epiphany, Candlemas (usually for candle wax), the Nativity of St John the Baptist and All Saints.[69] In some cases, local custom is evident as well. During the fourteenth century, for example, the *famuli* of Graveley in Cambridgeshire and Abbots Ripton in Huntingdonshire, annually received offerings on the days dedicated to their parish saints, St Botolph and St Andrew respectively.[70]

Behind Christmas and Easter, Shrovetide was the third most frequently recorded festive occasion for gifts of some form in the sample, found in twelve manors ranged across eight counties and five estates. Combined with the results of part two of the survey, records from thirty-five locations show evidence of medieval Shrovetide gift-giving traditions, dating mostly to the fourteenth century and spread thinly across East Anglia, parts of the southeast, southwest and Monmouthshire, with a northern outpost in County Durham (**Fig. 2**). Based on the extent of this preliminary survey, the Shrovetide custom appears much more regionally limited and

[67] For e.g. surviving *compoti* of Troy Manor in Monmouthshire cover most of the period 1292-1329, showing annual food rewards given to *famuli* at Christmas, Shrovetide and Easter: TNA: SC 6/926/11-28. However, the account for 1323-4 [SC 6/926/25, m. 1d], only denotes expense on gifts, without specifying occasions. Likewise, the account for 1310-1311 [SC 6/926/17, m. 1d] only shows signs of Easter gifts. It is not clear why this was done but were such examples the only accounts to have survived from the series, there would of course be no indication of the other festive traditions.

[68] Claridge and Langdon, 216-217; D. Farmer, 'The *Famuli* in the Later Middle Ages', in R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 225, 230, 234; M. M. Postan, *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, (Economic History Review. Supplements, 2; London: CUP for the Economic History Society, 1954), 30; Homans, 288-9; J. Ambrose Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organization* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1957), 201.

[69] For e.g at Walsoken Popenhoe Manor, Norfolk, feasts and/or offerings were provided to workers on Christmas, Easter and All Saints, with candlewax at Candlemas [1324-5, 1337-8, 1390-1: TNA: SC 6/924/15-17]. The *famuli* of Norton Manor, Leicestershire received offerings on Easter and the Feast of St John the Baptist in 1357-8 [SC 6/908/36], while the *famuli* of Cranfield Manor in Bedfordshire, a lucky bunch, typically received various perquisites on Christmas Eve, Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Candlemas and Shrovetide [1316-1352: SC6/740/11-16].

[70] TNA: SC 6/767/11-28 [1303-1459, Graveley]; SC 6/882/13-24 [1307-1376, Abbots Ripton].

specific than Christmas and Easter giving (compare **Fig. 1** and **2**). While varied in minor details, almost all examples collected fall into two main categories: food gifts offered to hired workers or servants and those offered to children or students (**Fig. 2** and **3**).

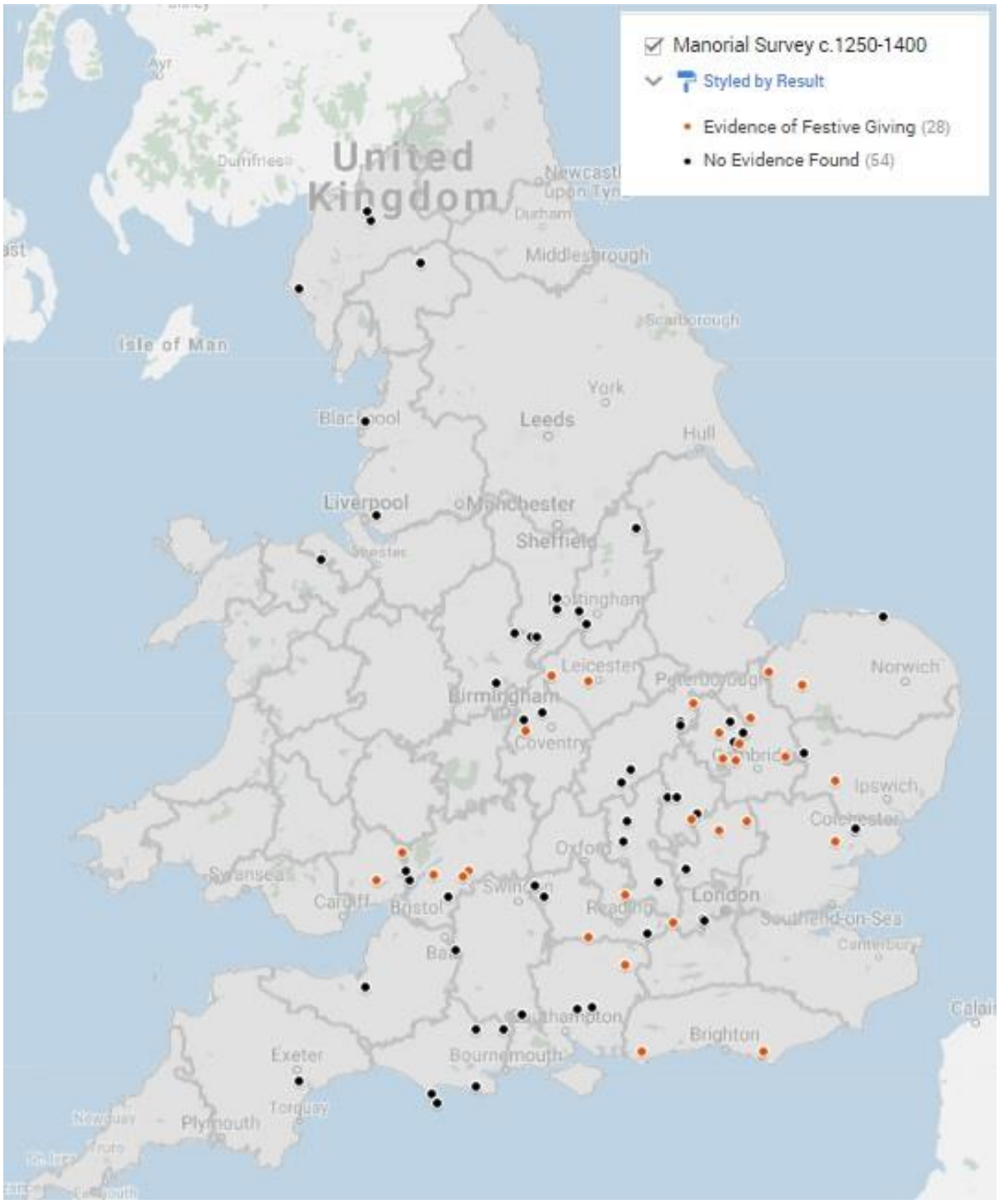


FIGURE 1 Map showing the extent of part one of the preliminary survey: a search through select accounts (c.1270-1380) of 88 manors in England and parts of Wales. A few manors have not been mapped as their exact locations are unknown. Red points indicate evidence of traditional festive gifts of some form. See Appendix A.1 for a list of manorial accounts searched.

The results demonstrate that the French Cistercian monks of Beaulieu Abbey were in no way special in offering pittances to their *famuli* on Shrove Tuesday. Nor does it seem to have been a practice limited to monastic estates. Though these are heavily represented in the results, lay holdings, as well as civic institutions, elite households and educational establishments are present too (**Fig. 3**). Results from the survey do, however, support the hypothesis extrapolated from the Beaulieu Abbey accounts that whatever local basis a festive custom may have had, it was often standardised and spread through the practices of estate management. Shrovetide gifts in the manorial record sample, for instance, were most frequently found in accounts deriving from manors in the Ramsey Abbey estate. Indeed, almost all Ramsey manors examined, be they in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire or Suffolk, showed similar signs of Shrovetide giving, with *famuli* receiving a portion of bacon or lard from stock on the day.[71] The standardised format of this giving, in some places consistently recorded over the course of a century, implies an institutional basis for the tradition.[72] If such was the case, then the numerical and geographic extent of the results can be widened considerably, to encompass much of the territory under Ramsey Abbey’s control during the period (see **Fig. 2**). On the other hand, some findings suggest the tradition could be locally derived and intensely specific. The custumal for Bromham Manor, Wiltshire (c. 1283—1312), for example, stated that all servants of the manorial household should receive a meal of bacon on Shrove Tuesday.[73] While this manor was on the estate of Battle Abbey, no other manor custumals in the abbey’s cartulary record similar provision. These two conflicting examples may illustrate the ambiguous difference between a customary right, as enshrined in a custumal and thereby legally protected, and a customary privilege, offered at the lord’s discretion but with a basis in tradition. To unpack more fully the relationship between giver, receiver and festive occasion implied in these results, the next two sections take the main beneficiaries of these gifts in turn (workers and children), closely examining the attitudes underpinning these customary actions in the medieval period, and briefly tracking their development into the early modern.

[71] Appendix A.

[72] Claridge and Langdon, 216 found similar evidence of the institutional basis of these traditions, with two-thirds of the manors (usually the larger ones) on the estates of Westminster Abbey providing feasts to their workers on Christmas, Easter and sometimes other occasions like All Saints and Michaelmas.

[73] ‘Omnes etiam servientes domini habebunt baconum die carniprivii, scilicet quilibet j ferculum’: TNA: E 315/57/2, fo. 46v. Demonstrating how historians have been prone to mis-transcribe, mistranslate, or simply miss ‘carniprivium’ in English records, the word has been inaccurately rendered ‘die carnis’ (i.e. flesh-day) in *Custumals of Battle Abbey in the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II (1283-1312)*, ed. S. R. Scargill-Bird (London: Camden Society, 1887), xxxiv, 82.

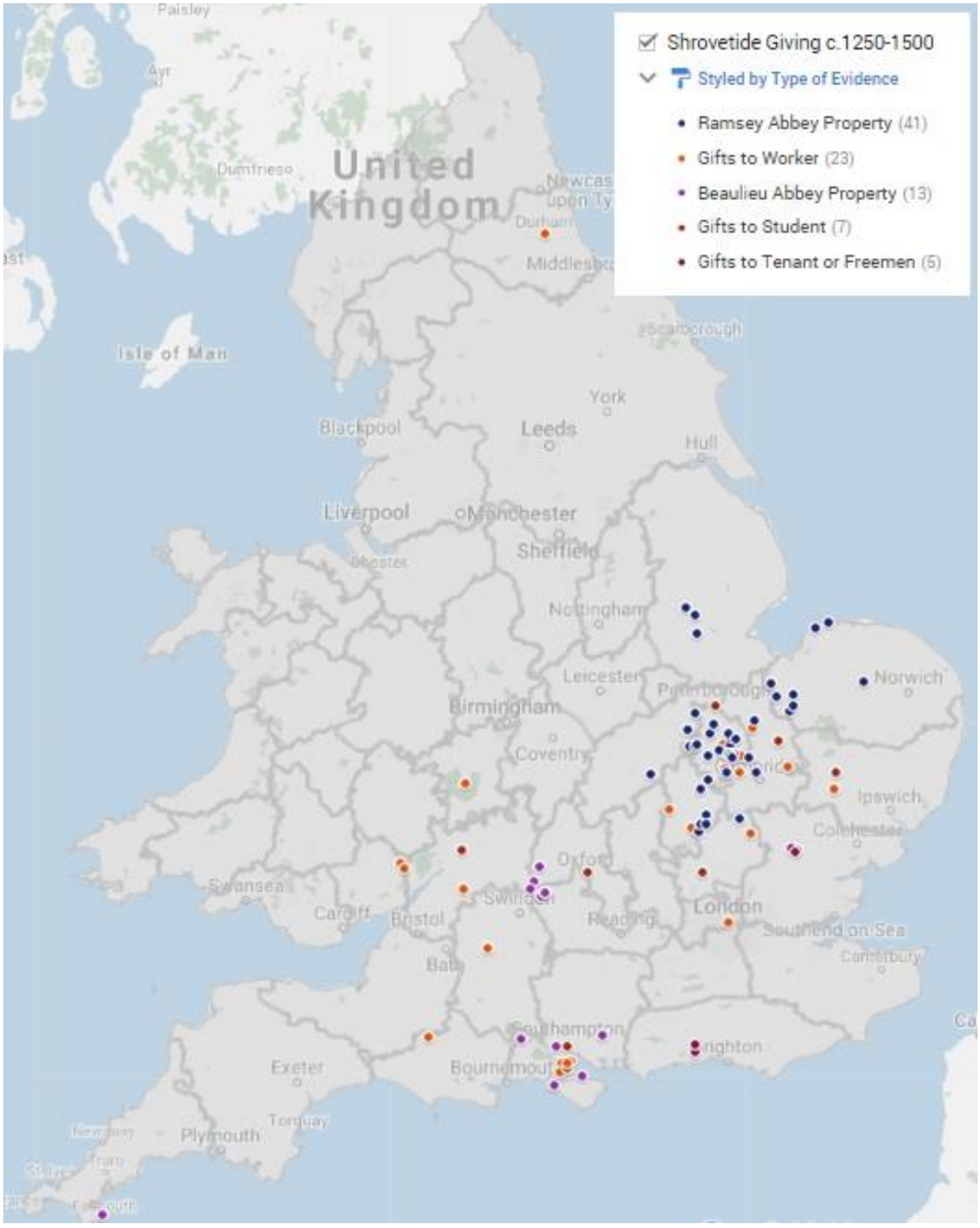


FIGURE 2 Map showing the geographic distribution of evidence for Shrovetide gifts. Locations with concrete evidence for traditional offerings to workers, children or others (i.e. tenants, freemen, knights) have been plotted in shades of red and orange. Additional properties belonging to Ramsey or Beaulieu Abbey during the period have also been plotted in blue or light purple. Records for the latter have not yet been examined or do not show concrete evidence of Shrovetide giving. However, due to the institutional basis of these customs and their presence on other manors belonging to the same abbeys, it is likely that a significant proportion of these settlements held similar practices.

Place	Evidence Date Range	Givee	Giver	Context	Gift
Great Hormead (Herts)	1261-1327	W	L-Royal	Manorial	F&M
Beaulieu Abbey (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Sowley (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Saint Leonard’s (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Holbury (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Otterwood (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Beufre (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Hartford (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Bergerie (Hants)	1270	W	M-Cist.	Manorial	F&D
Findon (Sussex)	1279-1288	F& K	L-Elite	Manorial	H
Washington (Sussex)	1279-1288	F & K	L-Elite	Manorial	H
Bromham (Wilts)	c.1283-1312	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Troy (Monmouth)	1293-1329	W	L-Elite	Manorial	F
Bury St Edmund’s Abbey (Suffolk)	c.1300s & 1400s	S	M-Ben.	Educational	GC
Merton College (Oxon)	1301-1411	S	L-Coll.	Educational	GC
Little Dunmow (Essex)	1302	T	M-Aug.	Manorial	F
Great Dunmow (Essex)	1302	T	M-Aug.	Manorial	F
Barnston (Essex)	1302	T	M-Aug.	Manorial	F
Cranfield (Beds)	1307-1325	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Barton (Beds)	1307-1325	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Graveley (Cambs)	1307-1390	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Chatteris (Cambs)	1313	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
New Grange (Monmouth)	1324-1331	W	L-Elite	Manorial	F
God’s House, Southampton	1326	S	L- Hosp.	Educational	GC
Lawshall (Suffolk)	1335-1373	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Abbots Ripton (Hunts)	1343-1364	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Holywell (Hunts)	1356-1408	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Horsley (Glos)	1372	W	M-Aug.	Manorial	F
Abbot of Westminster	1373	W	M-Ben.	Household	F
Sherbourne (Dorset)	1377	W	L-Elite	Manorial	F
Elsworth (Cambs)	1382	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F
Durham Priory (Durh)	1387-1430	W	M-Ben.	Household	M

Burewell (Cambs)	1399	W	M-Ben.	Manorial	F&D
Gloucester School (Glos)	1400	S	L-School	Educational	GC
Plymouth (Devon)	c.1400s	S		Educational	GC
London Bridge	1404-1421	W	L-Civic	Civic	D
Peterborough Abbey (Northants)	1405-1414	S	M-Ben.	Educational	GC M
St Alban's School (Herts)	c.1430	S		Educational	GC
Worcester Priory (Worcs)	1478	W	M-Ben.	Manorial & Household	F

FIGURE 3 Table listing evidence for Shrovetide gift-giving customs in England and Wales c.1250-1500. Full details given in Appendix A.2

Dates given are of the first and last record of the custom. This do not necessarily represent an unbroken tradition between the two dates, nor should it imply the custom was no longer observed after the last known reference.

Recipients have been grouped broadly as servants/workers (W), students (S), tenants (T), freemen (F) and knights (K). Rows have also been shaded according to these groupings, with the last three categories placed together.

Givers have been categorized as lay (L) or monastic (M), with further modifiers including royal, elite, college (Coll.), school, hospital (Hosp.) civic, Benedictines (Ben.), Augustinian canons (Aug.), and Cistercians (Cist.).

Contexts or settings for the gift-giving: manorial, educational institution, domestic household, and civic institution.

Gifts: Food (F), drink (D), money (M), hunting access (H), gamecocks (GC)

'Forget not the Feasts, that Belong to the Plough': Cultivating Servile Privilege

By far the most frequent recipients of Shrovetide gifts in the medieval period were servants, labourers and other stipendiary workers – a loose confederation of people united in their receipt of a stable wage for work done, be it in the form of money, board and bed, or a combination thereof. In a rural, manorial context, these individuals were generally known as *famuli*. They formed the permanent staff of the manor which did essential work like ploughing, shepherding and carting, and were set apart from both customary tenants and day-labourers by their annual contractual stipend.[74] According to M. M. Postan, author of the foundational monograph on the twelfth and thirteenth-century English *famulus*, the position developed gradually as the lord released certain tenants from their cash rent and customary services in return for certain manorial responsibilities. By the end of the thirteenth century, there existed two main forms of *famuli*, those still appointed from the tenantry whose customary obligations were commuted in return for service (known as service *famuli*), and those who worked strictly for grain and cash wages (known as stipendiary *famuli*).[75] Economic historians Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, who recently conducted a national survey of *famuli* labour on over four hundred demesne manors in England c.1300, have found that by the fourteenth century, the provenance of most of the evidence presented here, around 90% of *famuli* were stipendiary rather than service, with the remaining 'service' segment usually made up of managers such as reeves and haywards.[76] Claridge and Langdon have further discerned that stipendiary workers fell into two main tiers, with ploughmen, carters and shepherds receiving the highest wages and livery, and cowherds and dairymaids the lowest.[77] As for status, the *famulus* does not seem to have been fundamentally free or unfree during this period. Service *famuli* were certainly tied to the land, but many manorial workers on stipends seem to have been free from serfdom, as was the case at Beaulieu Abbey, and this number only increased during the fourteenth century.[78] Regardless

[74] On the *famuli* up through the thirteenth century see Postan, *The Famulus*. For circa 1300 see Claridge and Langdon, 'Composition of *Famuli* Labour' and J. R. Rush, 'Commerce and Labor in Medieval England: The Impact of the Market Economy on Workers' Diet and Wages, 1275-1315' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 2001), 88-131. On the development of the position during the fourteenth century and its perceived decline during the fifteenth, see Farmer, '*Famuli* in the Later Middle Ages' and D. W. Routt, 'Economy and Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Estate of the Abbot of St Edmund's, 1335-1388' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1998), 205-278. On the relationship between the late medieval *famuli* and the Tudor farm labourer and servant see D. Youngs, 'Servants and Labourers on a Late Medieval Demesne: The Case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47, 2 (1999), 145-60.

[75] David Farmer coined these terms, building off distinctions first explored by Postan: Farmer, 208; Postan, 4; Claridge and Langdon, 189.

[76] Claridge and Langdon, 189, 197, 212-213.

[77] Claridge and Langdon, 193-210.

[78] Rush, 91; Farmer, 233, 235-6. David Farmer's estimation that many *famuli* were unfree during the fourteenth century may extend from the fact that he was working mostly with records from the estates of the abbot of

of their condition, the *famuli* were considered part of the manorial household, or *familia*, and as such received certain perquisites like a daily pottage allowance, and the holiday feasts and gifts with which we are concerned.[79]

Most holiday gratuities observed in this survey and by other historians fall into two broad and often overlapping categories: a tip or bonus (*oblatio*) of usually a penny or half-penny per person per holiday, and food in the form of a special dish, extra portion of pottage, or communal meal.[80] Claridge and Langdon, the only historians to examine the latter holiday food gifts in any detail heretofore, have found that they were typically valued at 1½d per person.[81] While *famuli* were the main beneficiaries of such rewards, their family members and own servants sometimes joined them. At the Christmas and Easter feasts held at the Westminster Abbey manor of Launton in 1289/90, for example, the following individuals attended:

> the sergeant, the reeve, the granger, the four famuli ploughmen, one boy of theirs, one carter, one shepherd, one boy of his, one cowman, his boy, one miller, his boy, the dairymaid, her maidservant, the smith, the swineherd and the harvest overseer.[82]

Although similar to these other holiday gifts, Shrovetide rewards were distinct in a few ways. Firstly, the gift almost invariably came in the form of food rather than an *oblatio*. Secondly,

---

Glastonbury and the bishop of Winchester, which as Claridge and Langdon (p.189) have shown, employed an unusually high proportion of service *famuli* at the turn of the fourteenth century.

[79] On the pottage see Farmer, 234; Routt, 253; Claridge and Langdon, 215-216.

[80] The frequent use of the word *oblatio* deserves some attention here, as its exact meaning and usage is ambiguous. The seasonal perquisites of Cranfield Manor in Bedfordshire may help clarify [1316-1352: SC6/740/11-16]. The *famuli* usually received money (*in oblatione*) on Christmas Day, as well as a feast, two pounds of wax for Candlemas, money (*in dono*) for Christmas Eve, the Feast of the Circumcision (New Year's Day) and Epiphany, and meat (pork) at Shrovetide. The last four were often specified as being done out of custom (*ex consuetudine*). Some historians have understood *oblatio* as an oblation paid to the church or God on the servant's behalf (for e.g. see Routt, 253; 'Hospitals: Reading', in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 2*, (eds.) P. H. Ditchfield and W. Page (London, 1907), 97-99 *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol2/pp97-99 [accessed 3 May 2018]). Certainly, the wax for Candlemas can be understood as such, and the accounts for Cranfield seem to make a distinction between something given as a gift (*in dono*) and as an oblation (*in oblatione*). The Cranfield accounts, however, are exceptionally detailed, and even they subsume all the above under the heading 'oblationes'. Elsewhere, offerings of money and food are grouped under that same term, making it difficult to know for what purpose the monetary offerings were intended. We can be confident, however, that peasants were not going to offer up their Shrovetide bacon to the high altar. Indeed, the *DMLBS* does not privilege 'oblation to God' in its definition of *oblatio*, but rather defines the term broadly as 'offering, gift, oblation'. But whether it was intended as a church donation or as money to do with what will, it was still a gift, still a gratuitous expression of largesse, and this chapter follows recent scholarly convention (e.g. Dyer, Farmer, Claridge and Langdon above) in defining it as such.

[81] Claridge and Langdon, 216.

[82] As translated in B. G. Bailey et al, 'Coming of Age and the Family in Medieval England', *Journal of Family History*, 33, 1 (2008), 51.

these food gifts usually included a portion of meat product on top of a normal allotted meal, like what we have already observed in the Great Close of Beaulieu Abbey, where workers received extra beef, mutton and pancakes on Shrove Tuesday. At New Grange Manor, Monmouthshire, for example, while the hayward, assessor, swineherd and two *famuli* ploughmen received a special allotment of pottage at Easter in 1330, roasted meat was specially added to their meal at Shrovetide.[83] The same model was consistently followed at the nearby manor of Troy.[84] On the manors of Ramsey Abbey, the distinction between Shrovetide food gifts and those offered at other occasions was encapsulated in the manorial accounting itself. Individual gifts for Christmas and Easter were recorded alongside *famuli* stipends on the cash account, while one carcass of salted pork (bacon), was recorded on the stock account as given to the entire *famuli* to share at Shrovetide.[85] One exceptional Ramsey manor, Burewell, accounted for the Shrovetide expense in cash, making note that expenses for the servants at Christmas and Easter were monetary, while at Shrovetide they were '*pro baconibus'*.[86] Thus, on the estates of Ramsey Abbey, as at Beaulieu, there was a pre-Lenten cleaning of the larder, with the manorial staff receiving the benefits.

Results from the sample of manorial accounts are especially useful in showing continuity and change in festive giving as a tradition. For example, Shrovetide feasts of meat can be tracked over a period of nearly forty years (1293-1329) at Troy Manor in Monmouthshire.[87] Evidence for similar traditions on Ramsey Abbey manors can be observed as early as 1294 at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, and as late as 1408 at Holywell with Needingworth in Huntingdonshire, the latter a rather rare case of demesne farming in the fifteenth century.[88] Alongside these examples of continuity, however, come illustrations of change, attempts to contest or defend precedent, and the introduction of new traditions. Over the course of 1371-2, a particularly generous, or perhaps gullible reeve of Horsley Manor in Gloucestershire furnished *oblatio* for ten *famuli* of the manor at Christmas and Easter, wax at Candlemas, and gifts at Shrovetide and Epiphany.[89] Upon examining the accounts, auditors from Burton Priory disallowed the latter three offerings, striking through the entries on the basis that they had not been provided in other

[83] TNA: SC 6/924/16, m. 1d.
[84] For e.g. TNA: SC 6/926/11, m. 1d [1292-3]; SC 6/926/22, m. 1d [1319-1321]; SC 6/926/28, m. 1d [1328-9].
[85] For e.g. TNA: SC 6/877/22, m. 1d-v [1391-2; Holywell with Needingworth, Huntingdonshire]; SC 6/766/27, m. 1d-v [1381-2; Elsworth, Cambridgeshire]; SC 6/740/10, m. 1d-v [1306-7; Cranfield, Bedfordshire].
[86] TNA: SC 6/765/10, m. 1d [1398-9].
[87] TNA: SC 6/926/11-28 and see footnote 86 above for specific examples.
[88] TNA: SC 6/765/17, m. 1d; SC 6/877/30, m. 1v.
[89] TNA: SC 6/855/5, m. 1d.

years (**Fig. 4**). A look at previous accounts would seem to prove the auditors right, for in 1369-70 only Christmas offerings were provided.[90] Nonetheless, the auditor’s rebuke fell on deaf ears, for the next year the new reeve, John Jones, provided the *famuli* with Candlemas wax in addition to Christmas and Easter gifts, an allowance which was once again disqualified.[91]

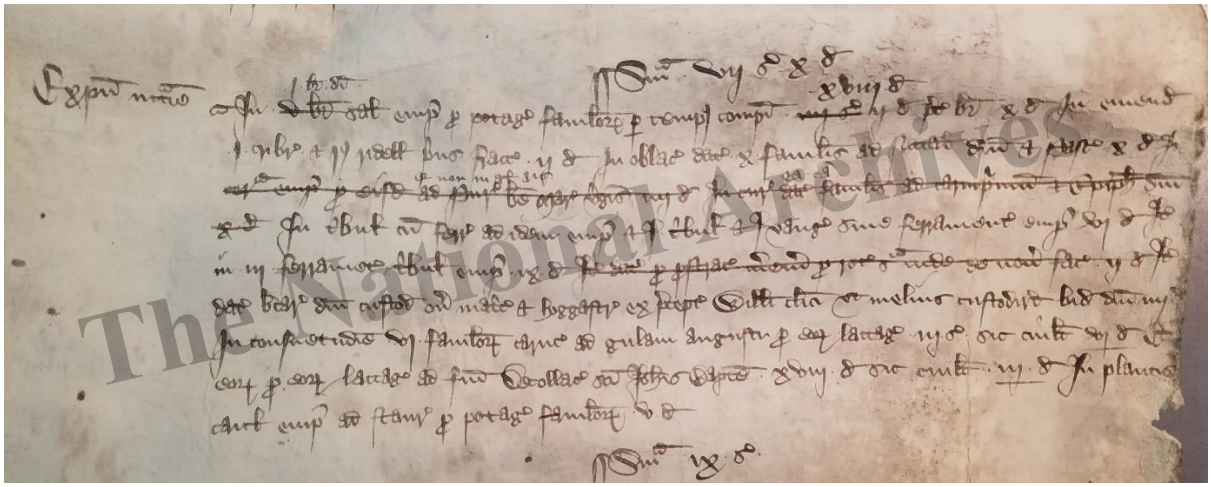


FIGURE 4 Expense section from a manorial account of Horsley Manor (1371-2). Shows (in the second and third lines) festive offerings given from the reeve to the *famuli*, which were then reclaimed by the auditor on the basis that they had not been given in other years: TNA: SC 6/855/5, m 1d. Credit: Image reproduced with kind permission from The National Archives, Kew.

Such conflicts over the festive customs of Horsley Manor hint at the annual negotiations which may have taken place beneath the veneer of unquestioned ritual each year. Between a lord and his manorial servants often stood a reeve who was ‘one of the men’, so to speak, and therefore subject to the pressures of his lord to produce, as well as of his village to remain loyal.[92] It is impossible to know if Shrovetide meat or Candlemas candles had been provided at the lord’s expense in the distant past, but the accounts do suggest there was some expectation for them. Certainly, workers on some estates in the surrounding counties were entitled to such privileges, and it is possible that the Horsley *famuli* desired similar treatment. Indeed, J. Ambrose Raftis

[90] TNA: SC 6/855/4, m 1d [1369-70].

[91] TNA: SC 6/855/6, m 1d [1372-3]. It is not possible to be certain that John Jones was a new reeve because the heading of the 1371-2 roll [SC 6/855/5] is damaged: we do not know who the reeve was that year. In 1369-1370, and 1374-5 [SC 6/855/7] however, the manorial minister was a bailiff, implying some degree of ministerial turnover was common.

[92] Typically, the reeve was selected by and from the manorial community. According to a thirteenth-century estate management treatise: ‘The reeve ought to be elected and presented by the common assent of the whole township as the best husbandman and farmer and as the most suitable person for looking after the lord's interest’: ‘Seneschaucy’, in *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 274. On the manorial reeve see Routt, 212-227.

observed that festive gifts to *famuli* on the estates of Ramsey Abbey often increased after the Black Death, perhaps as incentives in the new labourer's market.[93] Regardless, these examples illustrate the push and pull of festive tradition between customary right and lordly concession. At Horsley, the buck stopped with the lord and his auditors, but in some cases the lower orders had more purchase to defend their Shrovetide traditions. One such case dates to the latter half of the thirteenth century, with details preserved in the assize records of Sussex.

In 1288, William de Braose, lord of Findon Manor sued his knightly vassal Roger le Covert for hunting illegally on his warren in Washington.[94] Covert defended himself by claiming his ancestors had always had the customary right to course hares and foxes every Shrove Tuesday (the day of the offence) in Findon and Washington, and to cut staves from the forests with which to throw at the captured hares and carry them away.[95] Covert's argument was apparently sound, for nine years prior, when William de Braose made a request for free-warren over his mother's manor of Findon, jurors approved the charter upon one major condition: that the knights and freemen (*milites & liberi homines*) of the barony should maintain a right to hunt in the warren of Findon and take any wild beast on every Shrove Tuesday (*die Carnisprivii*).[96] This customary practice essentially mirrors what we have seen of Shrovetide gifts thus far, just on a larger scale: access granted to normally forbidden spaces and meat given from lord to vassals. Not only this, Shrove Tuesday opened access to sport. Covert had been allowed to hunt, but he also gives the first known description of the cruel yet enduring Shrovetide pastime of throwing cudgels at animals. While in later centuries poultry was the Shrove Tuesday target *de rigueur*, the above account, as well as an illustration of the practice from an early fourteenth-century Flemish psalter (**Fig. 5**), demonstrate that medieval revelers were not picky about the targets of their brutal pleasures.

[93] Raftis, 201.

[94] The case is contained in TNA: JUST 1/924, the Sussex eyre of 1288, Boyland's roll of civil, king's and crown pleas, gaol delivery, plaints, jury calendar, essoins and attorneys Rots 78. The broad strokes of the story can also be followed in print in C. F. Trower, 'Findon' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, Volume 26* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1875), 229-30, 255; J. H. Cooper, 'The Coverts: Part I', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, Volume 46* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1903), 173.

[95] 'Antecessors sui die Martis in Carniprivio currere solebant in warrenna in Wassyngton et Fyndon ad lepores et ad vulpes, et baculos amputare in boscis et haiis ad jaciendos post lepores': Cooper, 173n.18.

[96] 'Et quod milites & liberi homines de Baronia predicta debent venare in predicta warrennam de Fyndon & capere quamlibet feram bestiam die Carnisprivii': TNA: JUST 1/918, rot. 63d. Image available at Anglo-American Legal Tradition http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no918/bJUST1no918dorses/IMG_3065.htm. Also printed in *Placita de quo Warranto temporibus Edward I, II & III in Curia Receptae Scaccarij Westm. Asservata* (London, 1818), 760.

FIGURE 5 Depiction of cock-throwing or a variant form in an early fourteenth-century Flemish psalter. The bird does not appear to be a cockerel, nor does it appear to be alive, but the premise was essentially the same. Bodleian Library: MS Douce 6, fo. 156v. Flemish Psalter c.1320-1330 © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The incidents related to the Sussex manors show that the basis of Shrovetide customs could be in customary law, lords assuming new lands could be held to such law, and at times the traditional beneficiary could defend their festive rights through legal procedure. Most of the evidence of Shrovetide giving comes from the accounting side, so it can usually only show the presence of tradition, rather than its legal basis. A few examples surviving from custumals and other surveys, however, demonstrate that the Sussex customs were not singular.[97] Manorial servants of Bromham in Wiltshire were entitled to bacon every Shrove Tuesday, while a 1377 survey for Sherborne, Dorset, specified that the lord’s ploughmen should receive dishes of meat on the day. The *famuli* of Cranfield Manor in Bedfordshire who received pork every Shrove Tuesday during the first half of the fourteenth century (**Fig. 6**), did so ‘out of custom’ (*ex consuetudine*).[98] Together with the accounts of Horsley Manor, these show the contested nature of festive giving; it was a see-saw exchange undoubtedly tipped in favour of the lord or master,

[97] Thirteenth-century pleas of the forest in Oxfordshire also show that hunting was a common Shrovetide practice for both the privileged and the poor. Though illegal in such cases, the prevalence may suggest that the privileges of the above Sussex baronies were not uncommon. For example, the Oxfordshire Eyre of Pleas of the Forest in 1272 records four offences committed during Shrovetide over a three-year period from 1266-8: *Oxfordshire Forests 1246-1609*, ed. B. Schumer (Oxfordshire Record Society Series, 64; Oxford: Oxfordshire Record Society, 2004), 86, 98.

[98] TNA: E 315/57/2, fo. 46v, printed in *Custumals of Battle Abbey*, 82; F. W. Weaver and C. Herbert (eds.), *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 13 (1912), 31; SC 6/740/11-16.

but not completely one-sided due to the transformation of privilege into right by common consent over time.

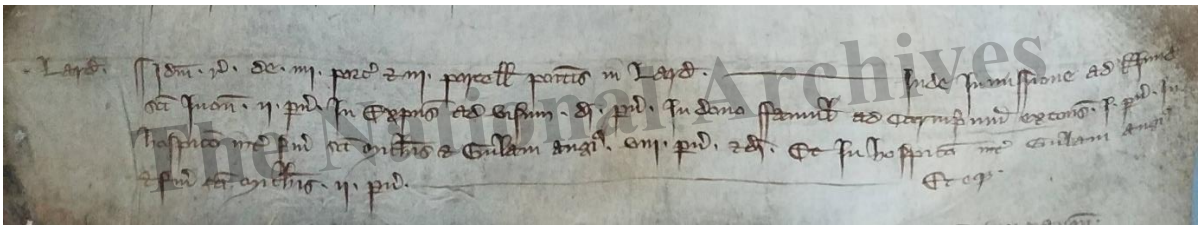


FIGURE 6 The larder section of a Cranfield Manor account (1323-4). Shows pork given to *famuli* as gifts at Shrovetide by custom: ‘In dono famulis ad carniprivium ex consuetudine’. TNA: SC 6/740/13, 1 mv. Reproduced with kind permission from The National Archives, Kew.

Although the emphasis within this chapter has been upon Shrovetide giving, it must be noted that almost none of the Carnival gifts discussed heretofore were unique within the yearly rhythms of the respective institutions. In other words, Shrovetide giving was usually set within a larger cycle of gifts, most typically including Christmas and Easter. What, then, set Shrovetide gifts apart, if anything? They obviously benefitted hired servants and labourers, but so did the feasts granted on other occasions. The central role of meat in the gifts has been noted, but such would be expected on the quintessential flesh day of the year, on the cusp of the Lenten fast. In looking for the distinction, the hunting privileges of Findon and Washington offer some suggestion. On Shrove Tuesday, access was granted to warren and forest, but only for knights and freemen. Customary tenants, or serfs, were not granted this right, and in this way the lord’s generosity extended down the social strata, but in a discriminate fashion. This Sussex example puts into words what most of the survey results reflect. The recipients of Shrovetide generosity were usually of servile rank, but not serfs. Contrary to a general perception (both scholarly and popular) of Carnival as egalitarian and universal, Shrovetide giving was primarily an act of inclusion within the household which simultaneously excluded those without.

Such an arrangement was not necessarily the norm for other feast days. Christmas and Easter, for example, were the two great occasions of the tenant’s *gesta*, defined by Felicity Heal as those ‘presents of food and drink that could be constituted fully as rent, or as service gestures made in return for equally obligatory feasting’.[99] Gifts flowed in a circle, tenants giving their Christmas hens and Easter eggs to the lord, and the lord opening his household to them for a

[99] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 70.

communal feast in return.[100] Easter was furthermore a season when donations flowed to the church, and the ultimate gift of the body and blood of Christ was given to the laity.[101] Christmastide was also anchored by New Year's Day, which was, in the words of early seventeenth-century commentator Edward Thomas, an ancient occasion when, 'gifts should passé and bee bestowed by equals unto their equals, Inferiors to their Superiors, and sometimes by Superiors unto their Inferiors'.[102] At these seasons, gift-giving was multidirectional and universal, an open house reinforcing communal bonds and obligations on many levels. By contrast, at Shrovetide gift-giving was mostly unidirectional down the social ranks and focused within the *familia* (in its broad sense), emphasizing the cohesion of the master-servant bond and the solidarity of a social class.

A few exceptions would seem to prove the general rule. In 1302, for example, the Augustinian canons of Little Dunmow Priory, Essex gave their tenants of Barnston, Little and Great Dunmow meat dishes on Shrove Tuesday, as 'according to old custom'.[103] It is unlikely that the canons were unique in this, but overall the weight of evidence suggests tenants and serfs rarely benefitted from a landlord's Shrovetide generosity.[104] Surviving household accounts can sometimes illustrate this festive differentiation. East Anglian gentlewoman Alice de Bryene, for example, celebrated Christmas in 1413 by hosting hundreds of local tenants, while at Shrovetide she hosted a few workers from the local manor. Both feasts were marked by high expense, prestige dishes and entertainment; indeed, these festive seasons were the only two occasions of the year when this modest household paid for a harpist. Similar patterns are discernible in the household accounts of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster: the latter's pantry and butlery provided for the *famuli* of the manor on Shrove Tuesday 1373, where no such provisions were recorded on Christmas, New Year's, Epiphany or Candlemas.[105]

[100] For some examples of this see Homans, 268–9, 357-8; *Custumals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishops of Canterbury,* eds. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (Sussex Record Society, 57; Cambridge: Sussex Record Society, 1958), 41–2, 48, 83; *The Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, ed. J. Brownhill (Edinburgh: Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, 1914), 179; Nathaniel J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records* (London: Methuen 1906), 94;, N. Neilson, 'Customary Rents' in F. M. Stenton and N. Neilson, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw and Customary Rents* (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 30-3.

[101] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun,* 195-6. See also similar connotations in early modern France: Davis, 40-2.
[102] As quoted in Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 69-70.
[103] 'Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Little Dunmow', in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 2*, ed. W. Page and J H. Round (London: Victoria County History, 1907), 150-154. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp150-154 [accessed 3 May 2018].
[104] See Figure 3 and Appendix A
[105] On New Year's Day, Alice de Bryene 'opened her home to local gentry, her bailiff, her harvest-reeve, eight of the household of the manor, her supervisor, and 300 tenants and strangers', entertaining them with a harpist. Over

Distinction was thus less in the relative significance of the feasts, and more in which social relations were soothed through hospitality and communal eating.

Two detailed narrative examples give contemporary voice to the seasonal distinctions implied in the survey results and argued here. Written by English clerics, one around the beginning of the thirteenth century and the other at the end of the fourteenth, the perspectives conveyed in these accounts bookend the period of Shrovetide's history examined thus far (c.1250-1400) and give insight into attitudes and ideas underpinning the festival's position as a season of hospitality, charity and gift-giving. The first example comes from Gervase of Tilbury's great work the *Otia Imperialia*. Completed around 1215 by the English-born canon lawyer for Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, but initially begun almost thirty years prior for the benefit of the Young King Henry of England, it contains a history and geography of the world, alongside a collection of marvels. The stories were intended for the emperor's entertainment, but they also often imparted morals and advice suitable for a ruler.[106] One set of marvels, subtitled 'of Shrovetide and Knights', contained three stories related to proper hospitality.[107] In the first tale, a 'gallant knight, hospitable and open-handed' encountered a problem when Shrove Tuesday arrived. His store was so reduced on the eve of the Lenten fast, that he lacked 'anything to serve on that day of rich fare, such as is customarily required for so great a feast'. Secretly, he had his steward slaughter his best horse, to be cooked and served in the place of beef to his household. The next day, the knight tried to prevent his squire from entering the stable to care for the horses, fearing that 'the deed of the day before would become known'. The squire, however, soon heard the horse in question neighing, and led the beast out from the stable, miraculously restored and unharmed.[108] Gervase, terming the above 'a great miracle', elucidated the rather obscure moral intended therein with two more similar tales, recounted here in full:

Shrovetide Alice dined with her household staff, an agricultural labourer, two carters, two roofers, as well as entertainers – a harpist and scrivener: *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412–Sept. 1413,* ed. M. K. Dale and V. B. Redstone (Ipswich: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1931), 44-5; E. Kunz, 'Hospitality, Conviviality, and the English Gentry: Social Networks of the Landed Elite in Late Medieval Suffolk' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, Ann Arbor, 2001), 212, 217-8. For Nicholas de Litlington see TNA: SC 6/1261/6, fo. 75r.

[106] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor,* eds. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), xxxviii-xlii.

[107] The Latin title is 'De hospitalitate cuiusdam' (translated by Banks and Binns as 'A Certain Person's Hospitality'), with one manuscript version containing the additional gloss 'De carniprivio et equo militis': Gervase of Tilbury, 754-7, titles on 754.

[108]Gervase of Tilbury, 754-5.

> A certain knight gave his household his own mare instead of beef for [Shrove Tuesday]. The household, not realizing what he had done, since he had made the decision without telling anyone, ate and were richly satisfied. Now another knight, resorting to the same expedient, fed his household with like fare on the holy day of Easter. With the passage of time both deeds came to the knowledge of their overlord, and without delay they were both summoned. Their lord compensated with the gift of a new horse only the one who had cooked his horse on [Shrove Tuesday]; to the other, who had honoured the feast of Easter with the same offering, he closed his hands. When asked on what criterion he had compensated the one rather than the other, the lord replied that he had compensated the one who had been caught in such an emergency by the circumstances of the season, because he had no need to be provided for the following day; whereas the one who had cooked his horse on Easter Day could have supplied the lack of the preceding day on the day after.[109]

According to Gervase, Shrovetide hospitality differed from the hospitality of other feasts, due in part to the unavoidable realities of the agricultural season. Historians often parse the names of Carnival as signalling the beginning of a mandated religious fast from flesh. Such names, however, carried a dual meaning still resonant in the medieval period. Fully preserved in the Latin name *carnisprivium* (literally meat privation) was the harsh reality that the meat slaughtered and salted at Martinmas in November would be nearly depleted at this season, and even grain stores would be low.[110] When a feast of excess is provided in dearth, it can take on a *sacrificial* significance, and thereby epitomise the act of hospitality: generosity at one's own expense. Such sacrifice was literally the case for Gervase's knights, who offered their best horses to provide sufficiently 'rich fare' for 'so great a feast'. Dedication to proper hospitality earned the knights just recompense, on the one hand from an overlord, and on the other from God Himself. By contrast, Easter and Christmas feasts were set in seasons of plenty, and as the overlord of the second tale makes clear, any lack of provision was simply a mark of a lord's poor management or stinginess. Shrovetide feasting, at an occasion when privation was highest, exemplified both the ideal of selflessness in gift-exchange and the proper way to run a

[109] Gervase of Tilbury, 756-7.
[110] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 151.

household. It is no coincidence that Gervase used the festival to illustrate 'what great rewards are to be gained from the practice of hospitality'.[111]

Gervase's stories, in their focus on good management, also placed emphasis on the household itself. In the second tale, it was the *familia* who were fed by the horse and 'richly satisfied'. Likewise, while Gervase described the first knight as 'ready to welcome all comers as his guests' he was also 'careful to provide well for his household'.[112] Within the seasonal context of Shrovetide, the food a master offered to his servants, within the household proper or in the extended manorial sense, would have been pregnant with meaning. The daily diet of *famuli* was low in nutrition, consisting mostly of porridge and bread, and historians have stressed that their grain and money wages were barely sufficient to maintain a small family.[113] The meat offered at Shrove Tuesday, even when salted rather than fresh, was thus a rare source of protein. As something shared exclusively among the servile ranks, it would have emphasized worker solidarity as well. While the examples given heretofore of bacon, pancakes, and dishes of beef may seem a literal pittance to modern perspectives, their symbolic and practical value to the medieval peasant cannot be underestimated.

The above stories predominantly hinge on the practicalities of estate management within the agricultural year. However, they also draw attention to the religious aspect of proper hospitality, suggested by God's miraculous restoration of the knight's horse, an erstwhile Shrovetide meal. Our next example fleshes out the spiritual themes underlying Shrovetide giving, and its connection to the lower ranks of the household. Written at the end of the fourteenth century by an English Augustinian canon, John Mirk's *Festial* is a collection of sermons for each major feast in the Christian calendar. It was intended as an aid for local parish priests and became the most popular and widely circulated cycle of sermons in fifteenth-century England.[114] Interpreting the origins of the name and by association the meaning of the season, Mirk begins his sermon for Quinquagesima Sunday (Shrove Sunday) with the following:

[111] 'If anyone wishes to learn what great rewards are to be gained from the practice of hospitality, let him pay heed to a strange and marvellous, or rather miraculous, occurrence.': Gervase of Tilbury, 755
[112] Gervase of Tilbury, 755-7.
[113] H. E. Hallam, 'The Worker's Diet', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume II 1042-1350,* ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 828-33, 837; C. Dyer, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Harvest Workers', *Agricultural History Review*, 36 (1988), 21-37; *Standards of Living,* 133; Claridge and Langdon, 215.
[114] S. Powell, 'Mirk, John (fl. c. 1382–c. 1414), Augustinian author', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18818

> Then schull ye know that thys word quinquagesin ys an nowmbur of fyfty, the wheche nowmbur bytokenyth remission and ioye. For yn the old lawe, ych fyfty wynter, all men and woymen that wern sette wyth seruice and bondage, thay wern made fre in gret ioy and murth to hom [them]. Wherfor thys nowmbur bygynnyth thys day, and endyth yn Estyrday, schewyng that yche godys-seruand that ys oppressyd wyth tribulacyon, and takyth hit mekely yn his hert, he schall be made fre yn his resurrecyon.[115]

Ever the skilful homilist, Mirk connects the seasonal joy, mirth and servile freedom of Shrovetide to the ultimate remission from tribulation offered by Christ’s resurrection, to be celebrated at the end of these fifty days. The rest of the sermon expands on this theme, explaining that the Pope in his holy wisdom reinstated the Biblical institution of the jubilee, offering full forgiveness of sins to those who would make the trip to Rome every fiftieth year. Mirk gives warning, however, that full pardon cannot come, whether in Rome or in death, without three further things: ‘full contricion wyth schryft, full charite wythout feynyng, and stabull fayth wythout flateryng’.[116] The relevance of the confessional season of Shrovetide is thus made plain, and so too the centrality of charity before and during Lent. Alongside the social cohesion of the household, the downward giving of Shrovetide was a manifestation of the peak season of charity in the Christian year. Beyond the ubiquitous gifts to servants, workers and children already noted, this can be spied in less frequently preserved donations and privileges granted to lepers, the poor and the ill around Shrove Tuesday.[117]

Mirk’s likening of Shrovetide privileges to a year of jubilee presages Thomas Dekker’s very similar analogy in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* by some two centuries. It is possible that Dekker was familiar with *The Festial*, which was the most frequently printed text before the Reformation, but it is just as likely that the reference was simply an obvious one to make in a religious age.[118] Regardless, the continuity suggests that Shrovetide servant gifts, as emblems

[115] John Mirk, *Festial: A Collection of Homilies, Part 1,* ed. Theodor Erbe (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1905), 74.
[116] John Mirk, 74.
[117] For e.g. the lepers of the Hospital of St Julian, near St Alban’s received some form of ‘albi panis’ on Shrove Tuesday during the fourteenth century. *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani: A Thoma Walsingham, Regnante Ricardo Secundo, Compilata. Volume 2, AD 1290–1349*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1867), 490.
[118] Powell, ‘Mirk, John’. It should be noted that the performance of this play at court on New Year’s Day 1600 ushered in a real year of jubilee in the Catholic church. Another early seventeenth-century work of literature, *Pasquils Palinodia* makes similar use of the analogy: ‘It was the day when euery Kitchin reekes, / And hungry

of hospitality and charity, endured over the next two centuries. Unfortunately, the late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century demise of demesne farming and its attendant accounts limits our ability to test this in rural contexts.[119] Some surviving examples, however, do point to the continuance of this tradition in medieval households. The account rolls of Durham Abbey consistently record gifts to servants at Shrovetide from the 1380s through the 1430s.[120] The *famuli* of the prior and the Priory of Worcester likewise received hens from the kitchen on Shrove Tuesday 1478.[121] Even the royal household loosened its grip on hierarchy on the day, an ordinance from Henry VII's Ryalle Book explaining that the cloth of estate (a visible mark of princely rank) should not be kept: 'And as for Schroftuysday at nyght there longithe none estat to be kep *but only one felichipe* the kinge and the quene to be to gedure and all ober estates'.[122]

Moving to an urban perspective, the fifteenth century provides some of the first evidence of annual Shrovetide giving in civic institutions. As early as the 1170s, William Fitzstephen noted in detail how London scholars and craftsmen spent Shrove Tuesday in the fields outside the city playing football while older men spectated.[123] This implies the feast day was already at least a half-holiday for those involved, but it is not clear if anyone received material benefit beyond free-time. By the time weekly accounts of the London Bridgemasters become extant in the fifteenth century, however, they record that customary 'drinkings' were annually provided to the Bridgehouse's stipendiary servants, carpenters and other workmen on '*die martis in festo Carnisprivii*'.[124] This varied crew reinforces the demographic of Shrovetide giving presented thus far; gifts were not limited to those servants who were youngest and lowest but offered rather to any within an institution's employ who consistently provided work in exchange for pay. It was a distinction more of rank and profession, than strictly of age, though the young

bellies keepe a Jubile': *Pasquils palinodia, and his progresse to the tauerne where after the suruey of the sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of poeticall sherry* (London, 1619), sig. D1v.

[119] On the decline in demesne farming in favour of leasing, and the resultant loss of the detailed (phase 2) manorial account, see Bailey, 105-111.

[120] *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, ed. C. Fowler, 3 vols. (Publications of the Surtees Society, 99, 100, 103; Durham: Andrews & Co., 1898-1900), i. 272-3, ii. 442, 464-5, iii. 620.

[121] 'Expense forensic…et solutum diversis famulis dni Prioris et famulis prioratus pro eorum gallinis in festo Carnisprivii 2s. 4d.'*Compotus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester of the 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. S. G. Hamilton (Oxford, James Parker and Co. for the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1910), 30.

[122] *The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topograhpy, History, Biography, Customs and Manners*, eds. T. Astle and F. Grose, 4 vols. (London, 1807), i. 330, emphasis mine.

[123] William Fitzstephen, 'The Life of Saint Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr', trans. H. E. Butler, in F. M. Stenton (ed.) *Norman London*, 30. Fitzstephen's account will be given extensive attention below and in the next chapter.

[124] Records of these customary parties survive in the Bridge-Master's weekly accounts from 1404-1421, with the first example already noted as a tradition. See LMA: CLA/007/FN/03/01, 26, 77, 125, 173, 216, 262, 308, 352 [1404-1412] and CLA/007/FN/03/02, 24, 74, 123, 182, 238, 351, 401, 462 [1413-1421].

were often beneficiaries. The Worshipful Company of Grocers, for example, furnished a 'Bachelers reuell at Shroftyde' in 1436.[125] The Bachelors were a sub-company within the Grocers made up of journeymen at the bottom and householders below the rank of master at the top.[126] They were thus freemen, and not apprentices.

Transitioning to the early modern period, sixteenth-century sources leave little doubt that, though urban apprentices may have been excluded from some Shrovetide gifts, they benefitted from other customary festive privileges. Starting in the 1570s, social reform and the suburban population boom in London prompted detailed reports of the annual Shrovetide revels of apprentices and other youths, written in the form of mayoral precepts and prohibitions. These frequent bans on Shrovetide football, music, carousing and general rowdiness make clear that many apprentices and servants, as well as householders, continued to enjoy time off work during the festival. The consequences of such prohibitions will be considered more fully in later chapters, but it is enough to note here that Shrovetide remained as ever an unofficial holiday, and therefore emblematic of the relations between the employers who allowed it and the employed who benefitted from it. Popular literature of the period, like the works of Dekker and Deloney, continued to emphasize the central role Shrovetide food played in such master-servant relationships. It must be noted, however, that the practical realities underlying Shrove Tuesday feasts were, unsurprisingly, quite different in a sixteenth-century city than they had been in the thirteenth-century countryside. As William Shakespeare put it, Shrovetide in Tudor London was an occasion 'When flesh [was] cheap and females dear'.[127] Cities were full of butchers keen to sell their stock before it plummeted in value on Ash Wednesday. Outside the context of war and famine, urban communities were unlikely to ever feel the same sting of pre-Lenten privation as a rural household with a depleted store. Despite this, Shrovetide food-gifts were still the mark of 'a brave lord of incomprehensible good-fellowship' in the early modern

[125] The company paid 3s 4d to furnish this. It is not clear what such a revel entailed, but food and drink might be assumed without controversy: *Facsimile of First Volume of MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London, A.D. 1345-1463*, ed. J. A. Kingdon, 2 vols. (London: Worshipful Company of Grocers, 1886), ii. 230.

[126] On the development of the 'yeomanry' (as the Bachelor's Company was called in most London livery companies) from unofficial journeymen fraternities in the fourteenth century, into distinct sub-companies with their own wardens by the sixteenth century, see S. Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 219-231.

[127] As part of a Shrovetide song: 'The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth', V. 3. 8. in W.J. Craig (ed.), *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (London: OUP, 1914).

period, showing how the symbolism and meanings of a customary action can long outlast the pressures which originally produced them or gave them edge.[128]

Turning back to the countryside, the sixteenth century brings the first evidence of Shrovetide on the husbandman's smaller farmstead, as opposed to the lord's expansive estate. It also brings the first evidence of systematic and widespread upward giving on the occasion (i.e. social inferior to superior) in the form of leasing agreements. In one typical example, gentleman John Jeffreys of Cockshutt, Shropshire leased land to husbandman John Wood in 1613 for a rent which included two hens at Shrovetide.[129] Evidence of similar Shrovetide rent hens can be found across England, Wales and Scotland from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth century and beyond.[130] Some early agreements on large estates refer to customary tenants, including old feudal obligations like heriot and labour services.[131] This prompts the question: were these shrove hens survivals of a medieval tradition, where tenants paid rent in kind every Shrovetide? Such was the case in some medieval communities of Italy and Germany, but as discussed above there is almost no evidence for it in England.[132] Instead, the Shrovetide 'fat hen' appears part of an early modern revival in rents in kind, after a late medieval decline.[133] The oft-specified corpulent stature of the hen leaves little question of its fate: it was meant for immediate consumption and not for store. Thomas Tusser, an Elizabethan gentleman who lived in Essex and Suffolk, gives some indication of who would be doing the consuming in his poetic treatise on good husbandry:

[128] Dekker, sig. I4r.
[129] Shropshire Archives, 103/1/5/54, 'Lease Agreement, 23 December 1613', online catalogue https://www.shropshirearchives.org.uk/collections/getrecord/CCA_X103_1_5_2_1_54
[130] Some measure of prevalence and extent can be ascertained by searching the online catalogues of county record offices with detailed digital calendars. The National Library of Wales Online Catalogue, for e.g., contains well over 300 early modern lease agreements involving shrove hens. Examples form other online catalogues are far less numerous, but they have been found on the record office websites of Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Cornwall, Hampshire and East Riding Yorkshire. For an example of 'Fastronis-evinis hennis' in sixteenth century Scotland, see *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1580-1593*, ed. J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1888), 416.
[131] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, 73 notes such practices in some rural areas as late as the 1630s.
[132] For examples from Italy see P. Aebischer, 'Les Denominations du "Carnaval" d'apres les chartes italiennes du Moyen Age', in *Melanges de philology romane: Offerts a M. Karl Michaelsson par ses amis et ses eleves* (Goteborg: Bergendahls Boktryckeri, 1952), 1-10. For southern Germany see R. P. Dees 'Economics and Politics of Peasant Production in south Germany, 1450-1650' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, UCLA, 2007), 300, 303, 377, 736, 827. The 'Fassnachthennen' first appears in records in the fifteenth century and came to be perceived as a repressive requirement and symbol of serfdom.
[133] This (potential) decline and revival is discussed in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: IV, 1500–1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967), 334-5, 682–3. Lawrence Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 301–2

> At shroftide to shrouing, go thresh the fat Henne,
> if blindefilde can kill her, then geue it thy menne.
> Maides fritters & pancakes, inough see ye make.
> let slut haue one pancake, for company sake.[134]

Tusser explained that Shrovetide was one of a handful of seasonal feasts belonging to the ploughman, which a good housewife should ‘forget not’. Helpfully, he also explained the rationale behind the festive generosity, at least in his opinion: ‘The meaning is onely, to joy & be glad, / for comfort with labour, is fit to be had’.[135] Giving the men a fat hen, and the scullery maid (the slut) a pancake, was thus good household management, enacting on a smaller scale the practices of the great medieval lord. The household accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd in Glamorgan Wales give some indication that Tusser’s poetic advice was put into practice by contemporaries, for the gentleman regularly rewarded his servants with pre-Lenten gifts in the 1620s and 1630s.[136]

Tusser’s fat hen also echoed medieval precedent in its provision of sport, hen-threshing basically being a variation of the Shrove Tuesday cudgel-throwing seen in the forests of Sussex three centuries prior. Seventeenth-century sources continued to emphasize this fusion of Shrovetide food and play, and the servant’s traditional privilege to benefit from both. One publication which did so perennially from the 1660s through the eighteenth century was the parody almanac *Poor Robin*. Often including joking references to ‘some such serious Observations as Country-men commonly put down in writing in their Almanacks’, one edition from 1673 made what may be the first reference to a form of pancake-racing, heretofore thought a Victorian invention: ‘St Pancake Day, and great running for the slut amongst the women’.[137]

---

[134] *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry vnited to as many of good huswiferie* (London, 1573), fo. 77r.
[135] Tusser, fo. 76r. The other seasonal occasions were Plough Monday, Whitsuntide wakes, sheep shearing, harvest home, and Hallowtide.
[136] For e.g. in February 1623: ‘geven at Llansannor amongst the servants 12s’. In February 1633: ‘disbursed at Lansanor to the servants and at playe 18s’, and in March: ‘given at the Dufferine to the servants 5s. 6d’. The accounts never name Shrovetide or specify why these bonuses were to be given, but they were always recorded in the two to three weeks before Lent, dependent on where Aubrey was resident and shifting in the calendar each year with the movement of Shrovetide. Entries recorded in late February 1622 strongly suggest the occasion, for after 12s was given at Llansanor ‘unto the servants’, 1s was paid ‘unto my sone for a kock fight’. Shrove Tuesday was on 5 March that year: *Family and Society in Early Stuart Glamorgan: The Household Accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd, c.1565-1641* ed. L. Bowen (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 2006), 47, 54, 82, 105, 121, 141.
[137] *Poor Robin: An Almanack After a New Fashion* (London, 1673), sig. A5v, B8v. See also *Poor Robin* (London, 1677), sig. A6r: ‘Pancakes are eat by greedy gut And Hob and Madge run for the slut’. Slut seems to have become a by-word for the pancake itself, as well as the scullery maid who made it. Cf. *Mercurius democritus, or, A true*

Another allusion to this activity in the 1683 almanac publication also voiced concerns that these examples of traditional festive generosity within the household were under threat.

> Pancakes and Fritters 'bout do fly
> That all may eat can come them nigh;
> Whilst Will and Jilian never shun
> But for slut Pancakes they will run,
> Thus harmless mirth, and good housekeeping
> Were us'd ere Pride on us came creeping.
> But now good things are laid aside,
> And all for to maintain dam'd pride.[138]

Felicity Heal and Ronald Hutton have detected a contemporarily perceived, and perhaps real, decline in seasonal hospitality and generosity over the course of the seventeenth century: gentry increasingly spent their winters in London, elite retinues shrank, the great household became less cohesive and more divided between servants and masters, and moralists bemoaned a lost world of good lordship.[139] Poor Robin's lament would fall into this latter category, but it may also point to a material waning in customary Shrovetide giving, at least on an institutional level. One last category of customs may support this hypothesis.

Only documented with regularity after the end of the eighteenth century, 'shroving' was a begging ritual enacted in certain rural communities during Shrovetide, primarily in southern Wales and the south and west of England. Children and sometimes adults perambulated through the village, knocking on the doors of houses and singing songs which requested (or demanded) food.[140] One regional variation, called variously Lent crocking or sherding, was

and perfect nocturnall (London, 1652-1654), Issue 45, 358 [16th-23rd February 1653]: '…that old Shrove-Tuesday practice of Frying of Fritters, Slutts, Frazes and Pancakes in a wooden Frying-pan…'

[138] *Poor Robin* (London, 1683), sig. A5v.

[139] See Heal, *Hospitality*, 142-191 on changes in elite hospitality. Though Heal focuses on the catering to guests and strangers, see also her discussion of the social and architectural separation of servants from the rest of the *familia* (Ibid, 159-67). Note, however, her argument that festive generosity largely endured amongst the middle and lower sorts during this period (Ibid, 354-65). Hutton (*Stations of the Sun*, 19-21) points out that it is difficult to be certain of a true decline in hospitality because the period in question saw a simultaneous increase in poverty and economic strain. The constant over the seventeenth century, and indeed beyond, was that people *thought* seasonal generosity was decaying. The anonymous authors of *Poor Robin* seem to have been particularly vocal about this, for Hutton gives as an example the 1702 edition's lament that landlords were rarely hosting Christmas feasts anymore (Ibid, 20).

[140] On shroving see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 163-7; Robson, 182–206.

much more threatening, with sinister songs to match: 'Give me a pancake, now, now, now, / Or I'll souse in your door with a row, tow, tow'.[141] Refusal to supply the 'crockers' with satisfactory reward would result in broken pot sherds left at the miser's door, or even stones flung at the same.[142] Although outside the temporal remit of this study, shroving bears close resemblance to customs recorded in Cornwall and the Isle of Scilly in the 1740s and Somerset in 1653. These involved Shrovetide revellers begging for food and chucking stones at doors when refused.[143] Folklorist Peter Robson has theorised that the origins for these early modern and nineteenth century practices might lie in customary doles given out by medieval monasteries during the festival.[144] Based on the findings of this chapter, this hypothesis could be refined to place the origins in systematic medieval offerings at Shrovetide, principally to workers of servile rank across regionally specific rural and urban contexts in (mostly) southern Britain. Although no direct connection can be drawn between the two sets of Shrovetide customs, the close correspondence between their composite parts and geographic distributions is striking (**Fig. 7**).[145] Also tantalising yet inconclusive is the fact that the 'Lent crocking' recorded in 1653 took place in Bruton, Somerset, once the home of the same Bruton Priory that disallowed Shrovetide gifts to the *famuli* of Horsley Manor in the fourteenth century.[146] Perhaps Shrovetide begging customs arose over time from the gradual erosion of legitimate giving customs based in good housekeeping and hospitality, exacerbated by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and other socio-economic changes during the early modern period. Further

[141] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 166.
[142] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 165.
[143] According to Robert Health, on the Isle of Scilly, after throwing at cocks all day, boys then threw stones at doors until paid off with pancakes or money. It was a 'Privilege they claim Time immemorial, and put in Practice without Controul'. He had heard the same custom was used in parts of Spain, as well as Cornwall: R. Health, *A Natural and Historical Account of the Isles of Scilly* (London: R. Manby and H.S. Cox, 1750), 127. In 1653, Thomas Gill of Bruton, Somerset confessed 'that Tuesday night beinge Shroue Tuesday he with others ... did throwe many great stones at many doors': *REED: Somerset including Bath* ed. J. Stokes and R. J. Alexander, 2 vols. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996) ii. 637–8.
[144] Robson's rationale is that several communities where shroving was recorded in the nineteenth century were once the sites of medieval abbeys. Robson does not offer any medieval evidence for this hunch, and as Ronald Hutton has pointed out, it would not explain the regional distribution of the custom, nor the fact that shroving occurred in villages that were never the locations of abbeys. The findings presented here give some credence to Robson's hypothesis, but shift the emphasis away from monastic charity to a gift-economy built into the medieval manorial system. As stated above, monks were not the only manorial lords giving their workers food at Shrovetide, and nor, as shall be shown below, was generosity to children on the holiday the sole provenance of the clergy: *Stations of the Sun*, 163-4; Robson, 182-206.
[145] More research on the regional distribution of medieval Shrovetide giving would be needed to test this. If it turns out from the discovery of more evidence in the north and midlands that the gift-giving customs were not regionally specific, but simply spread out all over the country (like Christmas giving), then it would become difficult to see a direct connection between medieval practice and these much later customs, unless the story is solely in the survival of shroving in those areas which remained predominantly rural through the early modern into the modern periods. The latter might explain why Shrovetide food-gifts are recorded for medieval East Anglia but no shroving customs are recorded there in later centuries.
[146] Discussed at length above.

research on this would be needed. Certainly, the demanding and coercive nature of shroving carried within it that medieval conflict over servile Shrovetide gifts, and festive customs in general: were they rights owed or privileges granted? The violence that gave this conflict a sharp edge at Shrovetide will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. For now, the focus shifts to the other social group frequently on the receiving end of medieval and early modern Shrovetide gifts: children.

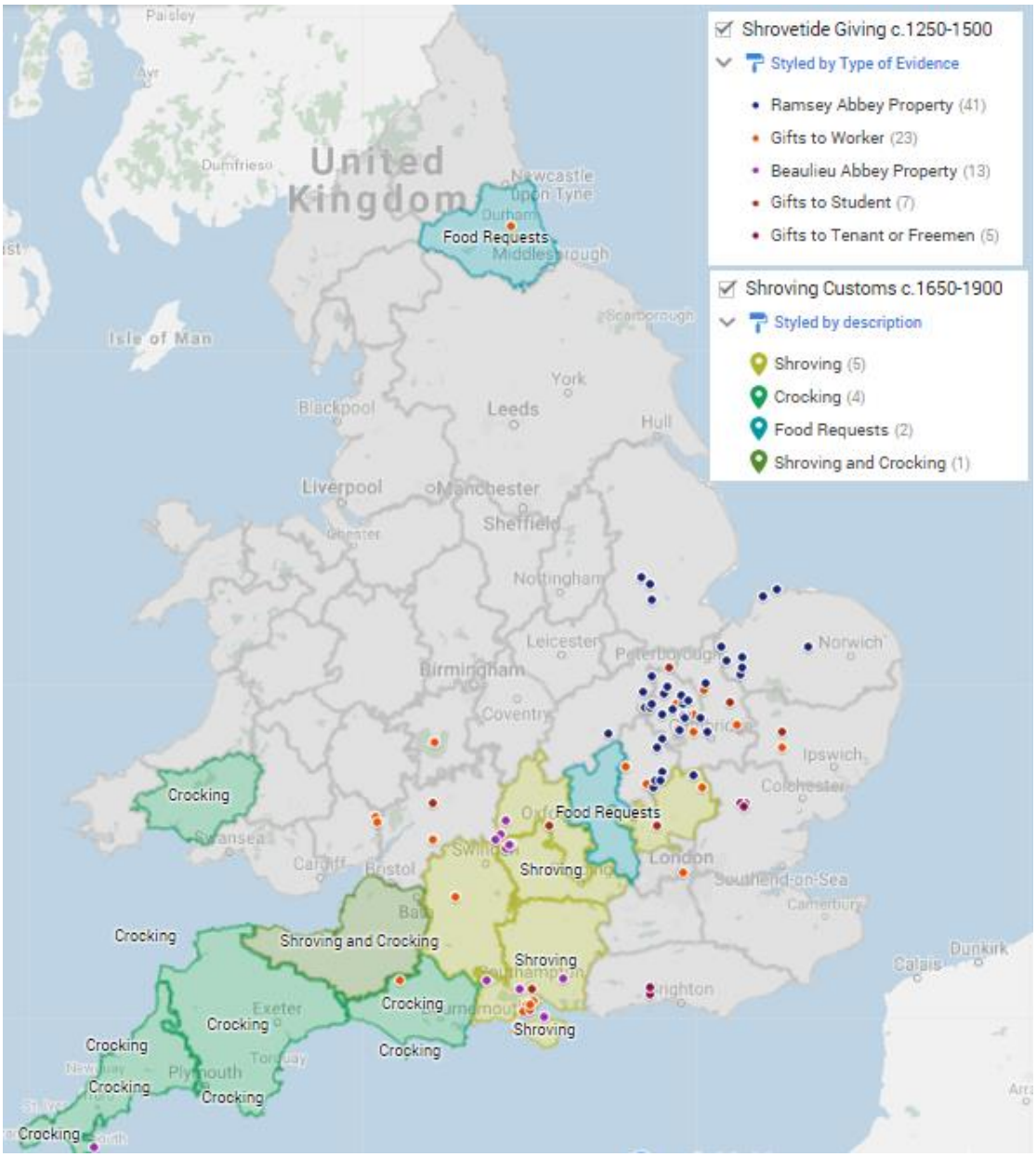


FIGURE 7 Map comparing the locations of medieval Shrovetide gift-giving practices, with the locations of early modern/modern Shrovetide begging customs. The different forms of shroving customs are mapped by historic county, ranging from simple ‘food requests’ of the poor at great houses, to the more violent ‘Lent crocking’. Shroving locations sourced from Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 163-7.

'For we were all boys once…': The Children's Holiday

On the eve of springtime, the spirit of hospitality and charity evident in Shrovetide gifts to workers was also channelled downward to children and adolescents, indeed those age groups most likely to be in service. Although Shrovetide generosity towards children was probably a general practice, most medieval evidence for it, at least on any institutional basis, comes from the records of educational establishments. William Fitzstephen supplies our first example of this in his description of London, written in the 1170s:

> Each year upon the day called Carnival – to begin with the sport of boys (for we were all boys once) – boys from the schools bring fighting-cocks to their master, and the whole forenoon is given up to boyish sport; for they have a holiday in the schools that they may watch their cocks do battle.[147]

After the cock-fights and a midday meal, the scholars joined other youths from the city to play ball in the fields. The principal gift from the schoolmaster was thus free-time and sport. It is not stated, however, how the boys received their cockerels, nor what was done with the carcasses of the slain birds. Later records confirm that the cock was indeed a gift, and a food-gift at that. A smattering of references to Shrove Tuesday cock-fighting in schools during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries imply the practice was widespread in medieval England, or at least in the south, with the bird supplied by the boy's guardian, sponsor or schoolmaster. In 1301 the sub-warden of Merton College, Oxford paid for the Shrovetide cock of a young student (*pro uno gallo…contra carniprivium*), a practice still recorded in accounts of the early fifteenth century.[148] The wardens of God's House Hospital in Southampton likewise gave schoolboy John, son of Laurence de Ulvestone, 1 ½ d for his Shrove Tuesday fighting-cock in 1326.[149] Fourteenth and fifteenth-century custom books for the Benedictine abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk record that cocks were to be given to the scholars every Shrove Tuesday (*Consuettudo gallorum in scholis in die Carnisprivii*).[150] The tradition was well established at Gloucester by 1400, and school notebooks containing poems about the sport indicate its

[147] Fitzstephen, 30.
[148] J. M. Fletcher and C. A. Upton, 'The Cost of Undergraduate Study at Oxford in the Fifteenth Century: The Evidence of the Merton College "Founder's Kin"', *History of Education,* 14.1 (1985), 8-9. Scholars were also given money to go maying (*ad mayandum*).
[149] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Sixth Report: Part I, Report and Appendix* (London: HMSO, 1877), 567.
[150] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London: Bohn, 1846), 8 vols., iii. 124-5.

presence at a school in Devon and St Alban's as well.[151] Despite its association with British Carnival in later years, the 'boyish sport' was likely a widespread seasonal custom in Northern Europe, as suggested by its likeness in the marginalia of a fourteenth-century Flemish manuscript (**Fig. 8**).

Although it had an institutional basis in grammar schools, Shrovetide cock-fighting was by no means limited to boys. Medieval noblemen and gentry apparently brought their childhood enthusiasm for the sport into adulthood, for Edmund Mortimer, Henry V, Lord Berkeley and Henry VII are all recorded as sponsoring and/or betting on Shrovetide cock-fights in the fifteenth century.[152] First record of the Carnival sport in Scotland also indicates it was not solely a pastime for the privileged. The Scots poem *Colkbie Sow*, written in the late fifteenth century, refers to workmen gathered in the field to bet on cock matches: 'And at schreftis evin sum wes so battalous / That he wald win to his maister in field / Fourty florans with bill and spuris beild'.[153] Such exceptions aside, the costlier nature of cock-fighting meant that the commons more often engaged in cock-throwing, or hen threshing, where one animal was sufficient for the entertainment of many. Medieval examples of this can be found in London during the reign of Henry IV, when craftsmen extracted 'coksylver' from strangers who wished to participate in their cockthreshing.[154]

As discussed in the section above, workers and servants could receive Shrovetide cocks and hens from their masters as gifts, but presumably they sometimes bought or used their own. This was certainly the case for elites engaged in the sport, and it illustrates the central difference between the Shrove Tuesday custom in schools versus elsewhere.[155] The Shrovetide fighting-cock was offered by an adult to a child who could not otherwise (legitimately) acquire one,

[151] N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006), 157-8; 'Culture of Children', 67.
[152] *Household Accounts*, ii. 599-600; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 19; S. Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), 28.
[153] 'The Tale of the Colkelbie Sow', in D. Laing (ed.), *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), Poem 12, Part III, ln. 877-9. One of William Dunbar's poems about Fastern's Eve written c.1503-1513 also references either cock-fighting or cock-throwing in the fields: 'Bott in the fedle preiff [test] thai na cockis' ('To the Queen', in William Dunbar, *The Complete Works*, ed. J. Conlee (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), ln. 8).
[154] LMA: CLA/024/01/02/041, A40. Printed and translated in 'Roll A 40: 1408-09', in *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 3, 1381-1412*, ed. A H Thomas (London, 1932), pp. 289-301. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol3/pp289-301 [accessed 7 April 2017].
[155] Edmund Mortimer, for e.g., purchased eighteen fighting cocks against Shrovetide in 1414: *Household Accounts*, ii. 599.

conveying privilege in three primary ways. Firstly, was the gift of time-off and freedom. Even at universities where the students were old enough to purchase their own bird, the scholars received a holiday. Fifteenth-century statutes of St Andrews University in Scotland stipulated, for example, that students should have as many as three days off for these Carnival sports.[156] Just as for the labourer, freedom may have been more keenly felt at Shrovetide than at other festivals like Christmas and Easter, when school was not in session and free time more plentiful.[157]

FIGURE 8 Boys betting on a cock-fight in the marginalia of the Flemish illuminated *Romance of Alexander* (c.1338-44). Bodleian Library: MS 264, fo. 50r. Photo Credit: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Secondly, as was the case with the ploughman's hen, a cock offered to a child could be an eventual gift of sustenance, unless of course the bird won the contest. Medieval sources are mostly silent on this aspect of the tradition, but in a society that wasted little, defeated birds were almost certainly eaten. The only medieval source that discusses this implies that in Gloucester at least the schoolmaster received the defeated birds and passed them over to the priories who sponsored the school.[158] However, it is likely that in many cases the students dined on the broth made from the cockerels, considering the number of carcasses involved, the fact that medieval students typically boarded at school, the very small window of time during which

[156] H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Volume 2, Part 2: English Universities, Student Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 673.
[157] As Nicholas Orme explains, schools rarely closed, but students did have time off for several weeks at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide: *Medieval Schools*, 156-7.
[158] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, 157.

the birds could be consumed before Lent, and the fact that early modern records sometimes show the boys doing so. This at least was the desired end of cock throwing and hen threshing, where it was claimed the barbaric bludgeoning tenderized the poultry.[159] But while cock-throwing and pancake-racing were examples of food turned to sport, cock-fights were definitively sport turned to food.

Entertainment was the third and perhaps greatest privilege which school boys received on Shrove Tuesday. The match itself was obviously the main show, a spectacle effectively sponsored by the schoolmaster, though in later years by way of a 'cockpenny' tuition paid by the student's sponsor. The pageantry did not end with the fight, however, for it was followed by a 'riding about in victory', where the victorious boy, holding the champion bird, was hoisted onto the shoulders of his peers or placed on a coal staff and paraded around. John Colet's refusal to allow Shrovetide cock-fighting or the resultant riding in his new Tudor foundation of St Paul's School, London suggests it was an established part of the tradition by his time.[160] It can be traced back further, to at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, based on two sources. In 1301 the aforementioned Merton College sub-warden awarded 2d '*pro victoribus…ad Carniprivium*' and in a later Flemish illumination of the *Romance of Alexander* there is an illustration of a riding (**Fig. 9**).[161] To find a narrative description to rival the latter image in detail, we must now turn to the early modern period.

George Wilson, a Jacobean gentleman who wrote a pamphlet in praise of the fighting-cock, described a riding which was staged after his own bird 'Noble Jipsey' emerged the victor in a tournament at Bury St Edmunds. First, Wilson and his friends had a banner drawn and painted with Jipsey's likeness and some appropriate verses of praise:

> So soone as the painted cloth was thus finished, the cocke was put into a prettie fine cage, which two men carried betwixt them, the cloth being borne a good distance before them, and in this manner hauing the waights of the Towne with vs, the trayned Souldiers, the

[159] See for e.g. *Pasquils Palinodia*, sig. D1v on Shrove Tuesday: 'When Cocks are cudgel'd down with many a knock, / And Hens are thrasht to make them short and timber…'.
[160] M. F. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909), 40.
[161] Fletcher and Upton, 8.

> Cocke-masters, and diuers others: we marched too and fro, throughout the whole towne.[162]

FIGURE 9 Young men or boys (noticeably older than those depicted in the last image) riding about in victory after a cock-fight, as illuminated in the marginalia of the Flemish *Romance of Alexander* (c.1338-44). Note the banner carried in the procession, with a rather unclear image – what John Brand took to be a cudgel. Bodleian Library: MS 264, fo. 89r. Photo Credit: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Later that same century, John Aubrey wrote specifically of Shrove Tuesday cock-fighting in the schools of west England, when ‘the Victor Boy went thru the streetes in triumph deckd with ribbons, all his schoole fellowes following with drum and a fiddle to a Feast at their Masters schoole house’.[163] Carnival scholars in search of Shrovetide pageantry and procession in premodern Britain need only imagine scores of such informal celebrations criss-crossing communities throughout the island every Shrove Tuesday.

As Wilson and Aubrey’s accounts imply, cock-fighting remained immensely popular throughout the early modern period, with Shrovetide the quintessential occasion. Outside the

[162] *The commendation of cockes, and cock-fighting VVherein is shewed, that cocke-fighting was before the comming of Christ* (London, 1607), sig. D3v-D4r.
[163] John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. J. Britten (London: Folk-Lore Society, 1881), 41.

schools, Tudor and Stuart royal courts and some municipal corporations often sponsored matches on the day, building permanent cock-pits to facilitate the spectacles.[164] It remained, however, a particular privilege of school-children, and if it was not already ubiquitous in British schools by the late medieval period, it certainly became so as foundations boomed in the sixteenth century. Throughout the island, the statutes of new schools made the cock penny part of annual term fees, while household accounts affirm regular expenditure on Shrovetide cocks for the children of English, Welsh and Scottish elite families into the eighteenth century.[165]

Cock-fighting may have been present in Britain from the introduction of the domestic fowl, but the Shrove Tuesday school tradition seems to have spread on an institutional basis, as the adoption but also the rejection of the old custom by some new foundations suggests. Dean John Colet's statutes for the new St Paul's Grammar School (c.1518), stipulated there would be 'no kokfighting nor rydyng aboute of victory'.[166] Similar injunctions were placed on the custom at the foundation of Manchester Grammar School, in 1525.[167] These denunciations occurred in the early Tudor period alongside a sudden and apparently novel propagation of Shrovetide drama in grammar schools, choir schools, and universities. As such they appear part of a humanist, rather than strictly religious reform of Shrove Tuesday customs. The classical influence is most obvious in a mid-sixteenth-century list of customs for Eton College, which makes no mention of football or cock-fighting at Shrovetide, but rather calls for the writing of verses 'in praise of Bacchus' during the season.[168] Of course, it was not always an either-or

[164] By 1533 a permanent cockpit had been installed at the royal palace of Greenwich, and during the reign of James I, Shrovetide cock-fighting matches were apparently still being held at the royal court. Tudor and Stuart corporations which sponsored Shrovetide cock-fighting matches and/or built cock-pits included Carlisle, Chester and Congleton. See W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Studies in Early English Drama, 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 13, 15; 'Venice: March 1609', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 11, 1607-1610*, ed. Horatio F Brown (London: HMSO, 1904), 238-255. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol11/pp238-255 [accessed 23 November 2018]. *REED: Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, eds. A. Douglas and P. Greenfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 25; *REED: Cheshire including Chester*, eds. E. Baldwin, L. M. Clopper, and D. Mills, 2vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), lxxvii-lxxviii.

[165] See for e.g. the foundation of Malpas Grammar School in Cheshire: *REED: Cheshire*, 719, 1050; and also, the following household accounts: the Duke of Buckingham (1521); Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd. Wales (1622); the Earls of Breadalbane, Scotland (1665); the Gilmours of Craigmillar, Scotland (1671-3); Sir John Foulis of Ravelston (1698); the Earls of Seafield, Scotland (1734); *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3, 1519-1523*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: HMSO, 1867), 503; *Family and Society in Early Stuart Glamorgan*, 47; NRS: GD112/35/11; GD122/3/1; *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston 1671-1707*, eds. J. Foulis and A. W. C. Hallen (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1894), 27, 225; GD248/105/3.

[166] McDonnell, 40

[167] Orme, 'Culture of Children', 68.

[168] E. S. Creasy, *Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College and of The Past and Present Condition of the School* (London, Longman, 1848), 74. On the rise of Shrovetide drama in educational institutions see Chapter 3.

scenario: many institutions evidently maintained old Shrovetide traditions alongside newer humanist ones. For example, the play *Apollo's Shroving*, performed by the grammar schoolboys of Hadleigh on Shrove Tuesday 1627, sang praises to Shrovetide hen-threshing, football and other rough sports.[169]

If the tradition lost its grip in some schools of post-Reformation England, it seems to have done the opposite in Scotland. Referring to the restoration of festive customs in 1661, the Scottish newssheet *Mercurius Caledonius* conveyed the continuing popularity of Shrove Tuesday poultry sports in Edinburgh: 'according to the ancient custome, the work was carried on by Cock-fighting in the Schools, and in the Streets among the vulgar fort, tilting at Cocks with faggot sticks'.[170] The author's distinction between the school children and the 'vulgar sort' brings us back to the two loose groups most associated with the holiday. Like in the medieval period, early modern Shrovetide generosity, recognition and privilege flowed to the lower orders of the family, the household and society in general, with an emphasis on 'those who worked'. But in this last point the connection does not seem clear. The efficacy of Shrovetide giving to workers makes sense enough: it was good management, soothed master-servant relations, and fostered social solidarity among the servile. The basis for the extension of generosity to children, however, seems less obvious. Children may have fit within the 'lower ranks of the household' at school or at home, but they were not servants, at least not in a gentleman's house. Nor were all premodern holidays 'about' children, in the way many modern ones are. Shrove Tuesday was one of only a handful of occasions (e.g. St Nicholas, Holy Innocents) devoted to the child in medieval and early modern society. Moving beyond vague associations connecting springtime with youth, and the obvious allure of tradition, English nobleman Hugh Hare, Baron Colerane offers a poetic contemporary perspective on how the two social groups might be logically united during Shrovetide.

Around the mid-point of the seventeenth century, Coleraine wrote an English translation and commentary on the fifteen Songs of Degree from the Book of Psalms, choosing appropriate seasonal occasions upon which to sing them. According to Coleraine, Psalm 127 would be fit

[169] 'Whilest thus we greete you by our words and pens, / Our shrouing bodeth death to none, but hens.': William Haskins, *Apollo shrouing composed for the schollars of the free-schoole of Hadleigh in Suffolke. And acted by them on Shrouetuesday, being the sixt of February, 1626* (London, 1627), 6.
[170] Thomas St. Serf, *Mercurius Caledonius. Comprising The Affairs now in Agitation in Scotland: With A Survey of Forreign Intelligence. From Friday February 22 to Friday March 1. 1661* (Edinburgh, 1661), 3. Online Transcription. https://mercuriuscaledonius.wordpress.com/category/part-viii/ [accessed 23 Novemebr 2018].

‘For Shrove Tuesday or a Wedding’.[171] The psalm first refers to the vanity of labouring to build a house and family without God’s blessing, with the following select verses best illustrating why he thought the lyrics suitable for the season:

> Til God the House doth build,
> and Family maintain;
> Workmen, tho' ne're so strong, or skill'd,
> Labour, alas! in vain.
>
> …
>
> Look, ev'n our best Encrease,
> Children come from the Lord;
> Those Fruits of th'Womb; which some may guess
> Man's Work; are God's Reward.[172]

In his commentary, Coleraine interprets both work and children as attempts to ‘build Houses’ in life, or rather create lasting legacies. He notes the song’s appropriateness not only for Shrove Tuesday, but as an ‘Anthem for the Day of a Nativity, or Baptism’.[173] As on Shrove Tuesday, work and pleasure were woven together and embodied in offspring, literally the fruits of labour. But though thought by some as ‘Man’s Work’, children were conceived with God’s blessing alone. Like John Mirk before him, Coleraine saw in this season of popular joy, mirth and fertility, God’s grace in remission from tribulation. The psalm’s lyrics thus reflect the dual nature of the festival in question, at once collapsing Carnival’s fleshly pleasures into Shrovetide’s forgiveness through charity, pointing us towards the spiritual basis in the seasonal gifts.

We may doubt whether ‘the vulgar sort’ in the streets or the boys in school shared Coleraine’s sophisticated reading of the occasion. For many, tradition and fun were probably explanation enough for the sports and spirt of Shrovetide. Still, the above was a message essentially repeated every Shrove Sunday in church during the prayers of holy communion, at least within

[171] Hugh Hare, Baron Coleraine, *La scala santa, or, A scale of devotions musical and gradual being descants on the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, in metre: with contemplations and collects upon them, in prose, 1670* (London, 1681), 35-40. He also assigns psalms to Christmas Eve, Christmas, St Stephen’s, Holy Innocents, St George’s, and All Saints.
[172] Coleraine, 36-7.
[173] Coleraine, 35.

England. The Book of Common Prayer’s Collect for the day espoused ‘that most excellent gyft of charitie’ while the Epistle, continuing the medieval tradition of the Sarum Use, came from 1 Corinthians 13.[174] The latter celebrates love and should be familiar to modern readers as the quintessential marriage reading for Anglican services, and for quotations such as ‘love is patient, love is kind’ and ‘when I became a man, I put away childish things’. Meaningfully, the subject in its original Greek ‘agape’, may be translated as love, as was the case in the Book of Common Prayer, or as charity, as was done in the King James Bible.[175] Like Coleraine’s psalm, the word simultaneously symbolised two feelings keenly felt and enacted during the Shrovetide season: love and charity. The next section delves deeper into the relationship between this ‘season of love’ and the foods offered and consumed upon it, moving beyond the symbolic and social value of Shrove Tuesday gifts to explore their potential effects on recipients’ bodies and psyches.

‘This will make a man out of you’: The Psychosomatic Efficacy of Shrovetide Food-gifts

During the seventeenth century, evidence surfaces of an element of Shrovetide food traditions centred on the intrinsic qualities of the food and the season in which it was consumed. One set of verses from the *Poor Robin’s Almanac* of 1682 summarises and presents the primary subjects for consideration:

> This Month with Shrove-tide out doth go,
> When as the Boys at Cocks do throw,
> The Broth of whom the flesh being boild
> For them can’t get their wives with Child,
> Physicians say is very good
> To raise the vigour in their blood,
> And so by using of this trade
> Keep them from being Cuckolds made.[176]

[174] *The booke of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England* (London, 1607), sig. D3v-D4v.
[175] ‘Agape’ technically refers to a ‘divine love’, rather than erotic love. Whether premodern parishioners understood these two concepts as totally separate is another matter. The Christian idea that marriage should stand apart from lust and ‘eros’ as a ‘legitimate’ love for the divinely sanctioned purpose of procreation (i.e. the chaste marriage bed) adds another dimension to Shrovetide fertility and matrimony, which will be explored further in the next two chapters.
[176] *Poor Robin* (London, 1682), sig. A5v.

The implication here is that the cocks killed on Shrove Tuesday held power to cure infertility, or more specifically impotence among men, when boiled down and consumed. Not only this, if the facetious author of *Poor Robin* can be believed, the cure had its basis in humoral theory, rather than folklore alone. Such references are not uncommon in *Poor Robin* publications of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, always made in association with Shrovetide and February, and following the same general format. The 1673 edition reported an 'abundance of cocks killed to the great enabling of feeble husbands by eating of cock broth', while in 1681 the line went thusly: 'Now if it shou'd happen that a great many old men should get their wives with Child this month, you must impute it to the efficacious cause of Cock broath'.[177] The perceived effectiveness of the food in curing infertility seems clear, but the efficacy of Shrovetide itself in the matter is only implicit. Put plainly, was it simply the broth that did the trick, or was the eating of the broth *on Shrove Tuesday* an essential component?

Medical treatises back up some of the almanac's tongue-in-cheek claims, at least concerning the broth. Citing classical authorities such as Galen and Dioscorides, as well as contemporary physicians, authors touted broths and caudles in general as ideal foods to restore strength to convalescents or those with a weak constitution.[178] On broth made specifically from cocks, however, seventeenth-century writers mostly debated whether a young cock or an old one should be used. Noah Biggs, whose 1651 tract was an attempt to correct the 'collateral errors' of 'Physitians, Mid-wifes, and others given to Physick', declared the traditional use of an old cock folly, for 'a young Cock, hath more life, spirit and vertue then the old decrepit ones'.[179] In his own corrective work on 'the errours of the people in physick', the physician James Primerose clarified that broths made from old cocks were useful for purging, but young cocks preferable for nourishment of the ill.[180] In all cases effectiveness derived from the physicality and spirit of the animal – reasoning firmly based in humoral tradition and the doctrine of signatures.[181] For the most part, these physicians are silent on the broth's usefulness as an

[177] *Poor Robin*, (London, 1673), sig. A6r; *Poor Robin* (London, 1681), sig. A6r. See also February/March in the editions from 1685, 1687, 1693, 1714, 1740.
[178] On the perceived medicinal properties of foods during the early modern period, its basis in humoral as well as other traditions, and the efficacy of broths for 'physick', see Albala, 241-83, 48-78 and esp. 72.
[179] *Mataeotechnia medicinae praxeos, The vanity of the craft of physick, or, A new dispensatory wherein is dissected the errors, ignorance, impostures and supinities of the schools in their main pillars of purges, blood-letting, fontanels or issues, and diet, &c* (London, 1651), 105.
[180] *Popular errours. Or the errours of the people in physick, first written in Latine by the learned physitian James Primrose Doctor in Physick*, (London, 1651), 157-9.
[181] Signatures were aphrodisiacs 'thought to work through hidden (occult) virtues…identifiable by the outward appearance of the plants and animals from which they were extracted'. On food as an aphrodisiac and impotence cure in early modern England, its humoral/medical basis, and the virtues of cock parts, broths and caudles, see J.

aphrodisiac and cure for impotence. John Marten, however, in his early eighteenth-century work on maladies which 'obstruct conjugal delectancy and pregnancy', named the 'Stones of a cock' as a food fit to 'breed Seed in all'.[182] Nonetheless, the attribution appears far more frequently in popular literature. In addition to the examples from *Poor Robin* already cited, various printed media refer to wives giving cock broth or stones to disinterested husbands, or prostitutes peddling it to their clientele to keep business going.[183] Considering the medical opinion on the food, it is not difficult to see why the general populace would think it might raise 'vigour in the blood'. Shrove Tuesday does not factor into many of these allusions, so it would seem the broth was thought to work regardless of when it was eaten.

Other contemporary texts, however, strongly suggest that Carnival time could indeed aid in human fertility on a corporeal level. Following his account of Fastern's Eve cock-fighting and cock-throwing in Edinburgh 1661, the author of *Mercurius Caledonius* described 'lusty Caudels' and 'powerfull Cock-broath' consumed in the evening. He declared the occasion to be 'one of the five Eves that's so famous among Femals', clarifying his meaning as 'Thought daies be abred'(i.e. days to conceive).[184] Another satirical newsprint of the time, *Mercurius Democritus*, recounted an outrageous tale of a Shrove Tuesday cock who broke free of his tether, terrorized his boyish tormentors, freed a companion, caused a woman to 'be delivered' of' two chickens, and killed 'three of the Lyons in Smithfield pens'. When he finally received a mortal blow, the valiant warrior called up a scrivener to write down his last will and testament (**Fig. 10**), freely bequeathing his body to the pot 'decently to be boiled for its tomb' and apportioning his body parts accordingly:

Evans, *Aphrodisiacs, Fertility and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 87-130, quote at 116, and see esp. 91, 102-4, 113-114, 117, 119-120.

[182] *Gonosologium novum: or, a new system of all the secret infirm and diseases, natural, accidental, and venereal in men and women, that defile and ruin the healths of themselves and their posterity, obstruct conjugal delectancy and pregnancy, with their various methods of cure.* (London, 1709), 52.

[183] See for e.g. *The scolding wives vindication: or, An answer to the cuckold's complaint. Wherein she shows what just reasons she had to exercise severity over her insufficient husband* (London, 1689): 'I feasted him e'ery day, / with Lamb-stones and Cock-broths too, / Yet all this Cost was / thrown away, / *he nothing at all would do.'* And also *Labour in [vain], or, The taylor [no man] containing the lamentation of [his buxom] wife, for her hard usage and his [insuffieicney]* (London, 1688); *The crafty whore: or, The mistery and iniquity of bawdy houses laid open* (London 1658), 55-6.

[184] Thomas St. Serf, 3-4.

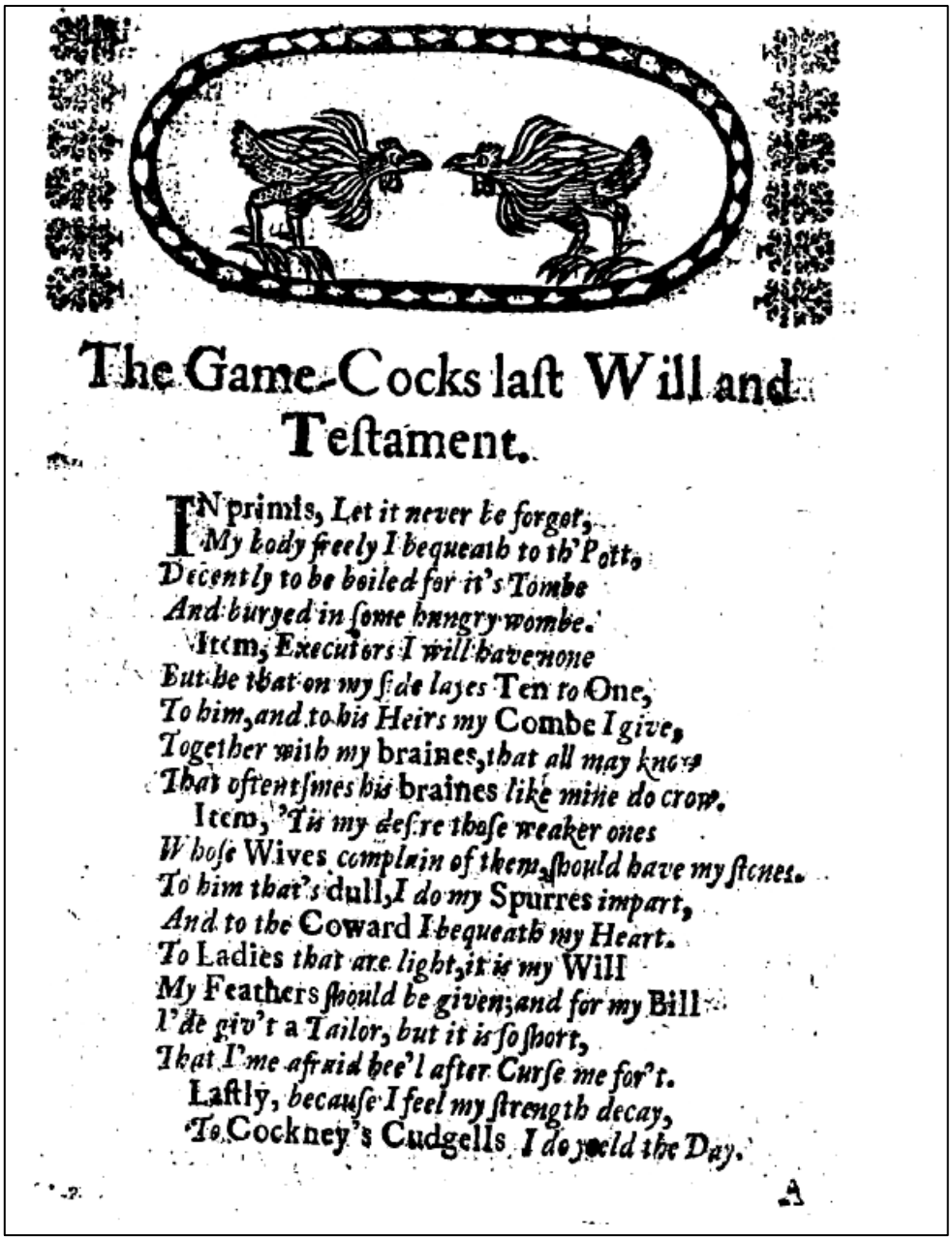
> Item, 'Tis my desire those weaker ones
> Whose Wives complain of them, should have my stones.
> To him that's dull, I do my Spurres impart,
> And to the Coward I bequeath my Heart.[185]

Here, a three-way connection is made between the warlike nature of the cock, its violent death in battle on Shrove Tuesday, and the virile attributes its slain body could convey to those who consumed it. Although it is difficult to take these satirical sources seriously, they traded in referential humour that needed some basis in real life to be understood. According to James Primerose, Galen himself said the best cocks for medicinal purposes were those 'quick for motion, hot for copulation, strong to fight'.[186] Such was the Shrovetide cock.

Carnival's licentious nature, past and present, has of course long been recognized.[187] Sexual humour and imagery were essential components of Carnival literature, theatre and folk performance and it can be statistically shown that sexual activity ramped up in the days before it was forbidden in Lent, both in England and other parts of Europe. Shrovetide customs were thus connected to human fertility both symbolically and socially.[188] What set Shrovetide's cock broth and by extension its festive time apart is that its efficacy was (understood as) psycho-physical rather than solely symbolic or social. The work it did was transformative on the level of the body and mind, rather than representative. It actively restored a husband's manhood and aided in conception. Carnival time did not merely prompt a display of such changes or provide an occasion for them, it was an active ingredient. While other Shrovetide customs and ceremonies may have acted on a similar 'bodily' level, indeed many scholars argue that much premodern ritual did, it is often difficult or impossible to show this.[189] It is less difficult to infer,

[185] *Mercurius democritus*, Issue 45, 356-7 [16th-23rd February 1653].
[186] Primerose, 159.
[187] Most of the scores of works on Carnival touch upon this, but for brief summaries of the subject see Burke, 265-6 and Muir, 89; M. Twycross and S. Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 71-72.
[188] For England, see the monthly statistics culled from baptism registers (1540-99), showing conception rates to be at the second highest in the winter months of December-February, behind the spring/summer months of April-June. This pattern maintained during the seventeenth century, though it became less pronounced: E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold for the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 1981), 288. For similar patterns in eighteenth-century France see J. Le Goff and P. Nora (eds). *Faire de l'Histoire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974), ii. 86.
[189] See for e.g. Edward Muir's discussion of rituals of the body, under which he considers Carnival, though more in the carnivalesque 'lower stratum/grotesque' sense than in the strict temporal one: *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 85-146.

however, that these three levels of efficacy (social, symbolic, psycho-physical) were relational, effectively feeding off one another.



The Game-Cocks laſt Will and Teſtament.

IN primis, Let it never be forgot,
My body freely I bequeath to th'Pott,
Decently to be boiled for it's Tombe
And buryed in ſome hungry wombe.
Item, Executors I will have none
But he that on my ſide layes Ten to One,
To him, and to his Heirs my Combe I give,
Together with my braines, that all may know
That oftentimes his braines like mine do crow.
Item, 'Tis my deſire thoſe weaker ones
Whoſe Wives complain of them, ſhould have my ſtones.
To him that's dull, I do my Spurres impart,
And to the Coward I bequeath my Heart.
To Ladies that are light, it is my Will
My Feathers ſhould be given; and for my Bill
I'de giv't a Tailor, but it is ſo ſhort,
That I'me afraid hee'l after Curſe me for't.
Laſtly, becauſe I feel my ſtrength decay,
To Cockney's Cudgells I do yeeld the Day.

A

FIGURE 10 'The Game-Cocks last Will and Testament', relaying the final words of a valiant Shrovetide martyr. *Mercurius democritus*, Issue 45, 356-7 [16th-23rd February 1653]. © British Library Board, Thomason / 106:E.688[6]. Reproduced with kind permissions of the British Library and ProQuest LLC. who produced the image for *Early English Books Online*. Further reproduction prohibited without permission of ProQuest at www.proquest.com.

Early modern conception rates were high during Carnival, and so too were marriage rates.[190] The close connection between marriage and Shrovetide will be discussed in the next chapter,

[190] From 1540-1700, marriage rates were marked by three seasonal peaks. The first in the post-harvest period October-November, the second highest in the post-Lent early summer months of May-July, and the third in the

but here it can be said that the product of these marriages (i.e. babies) were also in high supply during the season. By incidental virtue of its position nine months after that other great season of love (i.e. May), February had the highest baptism rates of the year in England.[191] Likely due to Lenten deprivation and the cold of the season, February-April saw (by far) the highest death rates as well.[192] In a very real sense the consequences of intimacy – marriage, sex, birth and eventual death – surrounded people at Shrovetide more than any other festival of the year. If Plough Monday was about the fertility of the fields, and May-tide the fertility of vegetation, then Shrovetide (and February) was about the fertility of humans and all that resulted from it. As *Poor Robin's Almanac* succinctly forecasted for the days before Shrovetide in 1674, it was 'roast meat weather where there is marriages and Christenings'.[193] For a society that believed in the efficacy of astrology and whose medical theories factored in when and at what time food should be eaten or medicine administered, it is no small wonder they believed the food consumed upon this holiday contained intervening power to help produce life.[194]

The idea that the cocks which boys threw at or set to fight on Shrove Tuesday could actually be instrumental in *creating* such children cannot be passed over quickly. From this perspective, Hugh de Coleraine's psalm about work and children as the fruit of labour, which he deemed suitable for Shrove Tuesday, a wedding, or a baptism makes even more sense. Shrovetide gifts flowed to children not only as individuals at the bottom of a household but as the very products and emblems of that festival. Indeed, one piece of hard evidence for the consumption of 'efficacious' cock broth comes from expenditure on a schoolboy. The seventeenth-century household accounts of the Gilmour family of Craigmillar, Scotland include expenses from 1671-3 for the young Alexander Gilmour, mostly in connection to his schooling in Dalkeith. Several purchases relate to the boy's actions on Shrove Tuesday, including 'a football at fastern's even', a reward to 'two boys who brought him 5 cocks at fastern's even' and '2 cocks

tight January-February window between the prohibited seasons of Advent and Lent. Though the December trough had disappeared by the eighteenth century, the March (Lent) trough remained: See charts, tables, maps and commentary in Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, 298-305.

[191] Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, 288-93.

[192] Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, 293-98. This pattern stayed relatively unchanged into the nineteenth century, though larger urban centres like London had quite different seasonal mortality rates.

[193] *Poor Robin* (London, 1674), sig. A6r.

[194] On the seasonal aspect of humoral theories of food and medicine see Albala, 129-30. On the practical use of astrology, its relation to humoral medicine, and popularity across early modern society see M. S. Dawson, 'Astrology and the Human Variation in Early Modern England', *Historical Journal*, 56, 1, (2013), 31–53; J. Ridder-Patrick, 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland ca. 1560-1726', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2012); L. Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology, and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (Manchester, 2007); B. S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (London: Faber, 1979).

to be broth'.[195] The latter may simply confirm what we already know, that broths and caudles were traditional fare on Fastern's Eve in Scotland, so much so that the holiday became known as 'Brose Night' to some communities in later centuries.[196] Nevertheless, the presence of cock broth, alongside payments for cockfighting at a school raises the question: if the Shrove Tuesday cock had power to restore a husband's manhood and help him beget children, did it have any relatable psychosomatic value for pre-pubescent boys and adolescents? A Scottish collection of grammar school orations printed in 1696 suggests it may have.

One oration 'on cocks and their game to be declaimed yearly, at their solemn fighting, on shrove Tuesday' addressed the assembled students directly. It first asked: 'why upon a set day, as Fastens even (or Shrove Tuesday as they call it) it is grown a custom here, and elsewhere in Grammer Schools, to have matches of Cocks, Fighting, and to be fond of this show?'. After running through a few folkloric explanations for the origins, the orator settled on a practical one: 'such shows do beget, in young Students, great Spirits; and drive them…on a vigorous prosecution of Learning, or to military Bravery'.[197] Concluding the oration, a trumpet sounded for the games to begin and a chorus rang out, its lyrics reinforcing the orator's appraisal of the value of the custom:

> With Beak, with Talons, and with Spur's
> The Cock is Bravely Armed,
> Which makes him fitted so for fight
> He's never wrong alarmed.
> This should excite our hopeful youth
> To industry and courage;
> And when will they behave aright
> If not when in their Flower-age.[198]

[195] NRS: GD112/35/11.
[196] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 157.
[197] Robert Blau, *Praxis oratoria vel suadela victrix containing some select orations (both in Latin and English) introducing one another; to each of which are subjoyned suitable citations out of good authors, for confirming of the several points, and a chorus relative to each subject, viz, diligence, mechanick arts, learning, Latine tongue, maternl [sic] indulgence, to which are added. An oration concerning the cocks and their game, declaimed yearly, at their solemn fighting, on shrove Tuesday. An inaugural oration of the victor, at Candlemass* (Edinburgh, 1696), sig. D4v-chi1v.
[198] Robert Blau, sig. chi1v.

The fighting cock was obviously associated with masculine virtues, and by way of observation these attributes could be instilled in boys, in a similar way that a cock's fighting spirit was efficacious to its medicinal properties. The divisions are blurred here between symbolism, mimicry and practical effect, but it seems clear that as sport, food, or a combination of the two, the Shrove Tuesday cock offered access to virility. On a psycho-physical level, it could either restore sexual potency to a feeble man or help transform young boys into courageous men. As Alexandra Shepard has shown, the sliding scale of manhood in early modern England, as understood through the concept of humoral complexion, was topped by 'lusty, valiant men, literally and metaphorically fired up to courageous action', in contrast to 'persons effeminate…without courage and spirit…and not apt nor able to beget any children'.[199] Shrove Tuesday thus enabled the embodiment of masculine identity in its early modern emphasis on sexual and physical prowess.

Although no direct evidence of the curative properties of cock broth survives before the 1600s, it is reasonable to infer that it was not a new folk tradition.[200] As we have already seen, cock-fighting is the oldest documented Carnival custom in Britain. It was also demonstrably pursued by boys and men. Unlike hens, cocks were not consumed very often, their gamey meat rendering them unfavourable compared to capons and hens.[201] When evidence of people eating them does arise, it is often in association with Shrovetide. For example, Christopher Woolgar's edition of medieval household accounts, which includes 'diets', or daily food records, for over sixteen medieval households, only cites six instances of cocks being consumed. Two of these instances occurred on Shrove Tuesday, while other references to cocks in the edition are to fighting-cocks on the same occasion.[202] Two detailed menus survive of Henry VIII's Shrove Monday and Tuesday banquets in 1533. Alongside other seasonal fare like venison, collops and eggs, and fritters, the dinner and supper menus are repeatedly graced by domestic cockerel,

[199] A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 59-60

[200] As early as 1539, however, Sir Thomas Elyot did mention cock stones, alongside other animal genitals, as a food to 'increase sede of generation': *The castel of helth gathered and made by Syr Thomas Elyot knyghte, out of the chiefe authors of physyke, wherby euery mannemay knowe the state of his owne body, the preseruatio[n] of helthe, and how to instructe welle his physytion in syckenes that he be not deceyued*, (London, 1539), fo.32r.

[201] Albala, 201. As Thomas Elyot explained: 'The flesshe of a cocke is harde of dygestion, but the broth, wherin it is boyled, louseth the bealy, and hauyng sodden in it colewortes, Polypodium, or Cartamus, it pourgeth yll humours, and is medicinable agaynste goutes, ioynt aches, and feuers, which come by courses.' In other words, it had medicinal value if boiled into a broth, but was otherwise not ideal for eating: *The castel of health*, fo. 30r-v.

[202] *Household Accounts*, i. 195, 202, 206, 213, 245, 272, ii. 592, 599-60. Katherine de Norwich purchased one cock on Shrove Sunday in 1337 while John de Multon purchased three while attending a Shrovetide tournament in 1348. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March purchased fighting cocks before Shrovetide in 1414. In contrast to the total of six entries for cocks bought for consumption, see the scores, even hundreds of capons and hens listed in the index (Ibid, 757-8).

usually served 'larded'.[203] Other surviving menus from the same manuscript show this was not the daily norm for the king. Coupled with this evidence is the reality that the humoral basis upon which cock broth's efficacy partly rested was ancient itself. It is thus likely that the tradition developed over time in the medieval period as Shrovetide became increasingly associated with coupling, marriage and sexual activity.

If the food consumed and customs pursued on Shrove Tuesday could 'make a man out of you', it is worth asking if they had any parallel effects on the other primary recipient of Shrovetide food-gifts – the worker in service. As we have seen, giving food at Shrovetide was the mark of a good master, one keen to foster positive work relations and keep a well-run household. To the servant it was also something expected – a privilege if not a right. Once servants received their gifts, feasting upon them together no doubt strengthened solidarity within the social group, as seen in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. Beyond this social element, however, there is little evidence that what workers ate on Shrove Tuesday made them what they were in any corporeal sense. In other words, it was not a transformative, restorative act, like eating cock broth during Carnival time could be. Starting in the sixteenth century, however, the same dieticians espousing the medicinal properties of cock broth increasingly prescribed certain foods as suitable only for the lower classes. Those foods deemed fit for 'rustical stomachs' and laboring men included a veritable roll call of Shrove Tuesday dishes: 'Martilmes' (salted) beef, ham, bacon and hard cheese.[204] Social practice thus translated into symbolic meaning, and in a self-fulfilling way, servants 'were what they ate' on their celebrated holiday.

Conclusions

Food and feasting formed the fulcrum around which all other Shrovetide practices revolved and proliferated. It was universal and pursued at every level of premodern Christian society, all people being subjected, though not equally, to Lenten fasting and late winter privation. Gift-giving, however, was not a universal practice during the Carnival season, but one usually benefitting the lower orders. From the thirteenth century forward Shrovetide acts of giving can

[203] BL: Add. MS 45716 A, fos. 56v-57r. Cokkes larded were served on Shrove Monday and Tuesday at dinner and supper. It should be noted that Anne Boleyn, recently and secretly married to the king and carrying his child, hosted the Shrove Monday banquet and sat at the king's side the next day, all while dining on dishes potent with symbolic and real fertility. I am grateful to Martha Carlin for supplying me with this reference. On these banquets see Chapter 3.
[204] On this and food and class in general see Albala, 184-216, esp. 194.

be traced in rural and educational institutions, principally in the south of England. By the fifteenth century, financial records reveal similar practices within urban institutions, although William Fitzstephen’s account of Shrove Tuesday sports in twelfth-century London suggests these had long been established in some cities. While a wide swathe of the commons could benefit from Shrovetide food or money offerings, evidence suggests that stipendiary labourers or children were the primary beneficiaries. Although the narrow range of surviving medieval sources limits the view of recipients largely to the *famuli* of demesne manors, and to schoolboys, it is likely that other types of servants and children, for example on smaller farmsteads, received similar treatment. Indeed, once more sources become available in the early modern period they show Shrove Tuesday gifts of food, money or free-time conferred in a wider array of contexts. Despite this, the recipients remained overwhelmingly the worker or the child, making the story of Shrovetide giving one of continuity for most of the medieval and early modern periods, with intense local and institutional variation. But by the latter half of the seventeenth century there are signs that Shrovetide gift giving, and the conveyance of privilege was on the decline at an official level, at least in England. This may have contributed to the rise of later ‘shroving’ begging customs in parts of southern England and Wales, as the expectation of gifts remained where the willingness or facility to offer them vanished. But despite any such decay, the quintessential Shrovetide food-gift of poultry and particularly the cockerel, along with its associated sports, endured well into the nineteenth century in many parts of Britain. In its ritual power to cure impotence or instil masculinity, it preserved for a time Shrovetide’s deep-rooted connection and efficacy to human fertility.

Shrovetide giving was underpinned chiefly by ideas of charity and hospitality. Although these ideas factored into gift exchange at all festive occasions, Shrovetide stood apart from others in several crucial ways. Charitable giving was most prevalent in the days of and leading up to Lent. Although the Reformation did away with the confessional component of Shrovetide, charity remained the season’s quintessential spirit in the Church of England’s eyes. Furthermore, unlike Christmas, Easter or harvest feasts, Shrovetide food offerings came at a time of intense privation in the medieval agrarian year. As such these food gifts were imbued with a sacrificial quality not felt as keenly at other seasonal occasions. Through the very real relief of need they conferred, Shrovetide gifts came to symbolize the same. In this way the festival epitomised good hospitality, but more particularly the generous provision for one’s own retinue that remained the mark of a good lord or householder. It is this latter aspect which seems to have contributed to the discretionary element of Shrovetide giving. While feasts of

plenty could see universal and multidirectional giving to any and all, Shrovetide gifts were most typically reserved to those lower ranks within the various manifestations of the household: biological family (children), domestic (domestic servants), and manorial (agrarian labourers). It is likely for this reason that customary tenants rarely benefitted from the Shrovetide generosity of their lord. Shrovetide gifts conveyed privileges to the humble, but it was predominantly an exclusive privilege reserved to those in the *familia*.

Shrove Tuesday’s efficacy to master-servant relations and its emblematic status for the worker also sprang from its position as an unofficial holiday or half-holiday. Again, distinct from Christmastide, Eastertide and Whitsuntide, Shrovetide never held legal status under church or state as a time when people should be free of work. Work and play were therefore never far from one another during the festival, and any privileges conferred came from the good will of the master or lord. Although power lay with the superior in this sense, the *longue durée* of Shrovetide giving shows allowance could morph into obligation. As early as the thirteenth century, Shrovetide privileges were enshrined as customary law on some manors. Even where this was not the case, the servile and working ranks clearly developed a sense of ownership over Shrovetide. It was a ‘feast belonging to the plough’ in the eyes of many – something duly owed and not to be forgotten. Time-off, food and money may all have come from the pleasure of the master, but there would be consequences if these privileges were withheld. Later chapters will discuss the consequences of such ownership, privilege, and the denial of perceived rights. For now, we will turn to another, more visual and active manifestation of Shrove Tuesday’s contested position as the ‘worker’s holiday’: the sponsorship of Shrovetide sport and pageantry by artisanal guilds and municipal corporations.

CHAPTER 2

TIME OF SPORTS & SPONSORSHIP
Shrovetide Civic Ball Games, Pageantry and Preserving the Common Profit

In this yeare: the Offeringe of balls and foote ball were in this Cittye put down and the horse with silver bell and silver gleeves offered up to the Maior upon shrove Tuesday.

- Chester, 1540 (Mayor's List 13)[1]

In the early sixteenth century, on the eve of the English Reformation, the city of Chester celebrated Shrove Tuesday annually with a solemn ceremony and a boisterous football match. A reforming mayoral order from 1540 provides the earliest evidence of the city's ball games and their attendant esoteric ceremonies. From 'tyme out of mannz Remembraunc', the ordinance reads, the Shoemakers, Saddlers, and all men married within the city since last Shrove Tuesday did meet at the 'cros upon the Rode hee' to pay homage to the Drapers' Company in the presence of the mayor.[2] The Shoemakers' Company offered 'one bale of Lether Caulyd a fout baule', the Saddlers' Company, fully mounted on horseback, gave an 'Apayntyd Baule of Wood with floures and armes upon the poynte of a spere', and each recently married man delivered a 'baule of Silke or veluit'. Beyond explaining football was to be played at 'from thens to the Common haule' of the city, and that from it had lately arisen 'grete Inconuenynce', the order stops short of detailing the nature of the game. [3] Fortunately, manuscript copies of the early antiquarian David Rogers' *Breviary of Chester,* first compiled

[1] The Chester Mayors List 13 (1539-1540), in *REED: Cheshire including Chester*, ed. E. Baldwin et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 87.
[2] The 'Rode hee', or Roodee was the large field of recreation between the river and Chester's western walls. Today it is the site of the Chester Racecourse, the oldest racecourse still in use in England.
[3] *REED: Cheshire*, 75-76.

some 70 years later, fill in many of the gaps with more circumstantial evidence. According to Rogers, once the football was received the Drapers put it into play:

> …the drapers did giue the same ball presentlye there to be played for, by the shooemakers & sadlers, to bringe the said foote ball to any of the 3 howses either of the mayor or either of the Sheriffes, then that side to wine the same ball…greate hurte and strife…did arise among the yonge persones of the same Cittie, while diuars partes weare taken with force and stronge hande to bringe the saide Ball to one of these three howses…

The wooden Saddlers’ ball, inconsistently described as a ‘ball of silver’ or ‘a ball of silke of the bignes of abowle’ in different copies of the *Breviary,* was then offered to the Drapers at the end of a ‘trunchon or staffe or speare’. Upon receiving the homage, the merchants turned it over to sport as well: ‘The which ball the said Drapers did Caste up among the throunge, to get it who coulde, in which also much hurte was done’. [4] Finally, the newlywed men each presented ‘a ball of silke of the bignes of a boule’ to the Drapers.[5] It is not known if these balls were also played, but the original proclamation linked them directly to ‘the saides Inconvenyentes’ which had plagued the football match.[6] After the games concluded, all parties adjourned to the Common Hall, where the Drapers’ Company in turn feasted the mayor, Saddlers and Shoemakers with ‘bread and beere’ over the course of three evenings.[7]

According to the original proclamation, Henry Gee, Chester’s mayor of 1540, resolved the conflict between an ‘auncyent & Laudable Costome’ and the disorder it was causing through compromise. Namely, he replaced the overly violent Shrove Tuesday ball games with what Roger’s later described as ‘profitable exercises’ – a footrace, horserace, and archery competition. The homages were continued, but with offerings more suitable to the new sports: the Shoemakers supplied six ‘gleaves of Siluer’, the same value as the football, for the winners of the footrace; the Saddlers gave a ‘bell of Sylver’, the same value as their painted ball and equal to the Shoemakers’ homage, for the winner of the horserace; and each newly married

[4] These accounts are collated from two copies of Roger’s Breviary: CCALS: ZCX 3, and BL: Harley MS 1948. See *REED: Cheshire,* 326-331 for both transcriptions. See pp. 879-885 also for information on the different copies of the Breviary.
[5] In other words, the silk ball was about the same size as those used for playing at bowls. Such a ball would have fit easily in the hand, in contrast to the much larger football.
[6] *REED: Cheshire*, 77. Moreover, it seems to have been important that the Drapers offer up the homages they received to common recreation, rather than keep them. See the below section on Chester for more on this.
[7] *REED: Cheshire*, 330.

man presented an 'Arrow of Siluer', costing the same as the old silk ball, to be given to those who could shoot the furthest in the archery competition.[8] The attendant processions and reciprocal feasts of old 'usage' were upheld, and all obligations enforced under pain of fine.

Chester's early Tudor ball games and Mayor Gee's reformed replacements merge aspects of the Shrovetide feasting, exchange and artisanal identities already seen in the last chapter with more overt elements of civic pageantry and play. They suggest the intentional change of festive tradition, an underlying rationale for doing so, and a technique to accomplish it through the reshaping of practical and symbolic festive actions. Time and again in his retrospective account, David Rogers applauds the 'greate wisedome' of those 'Anchant and sage senators' for their foresight to 'tourne and converte the said homage to a better use', by which he meant the reformed 'profitable' and 'lawdable exercises' still being enacted in his day.[9] Coupled with Mayor Gee's careful attention to maintaining like-for-like value in the physical objects of the reformed homages (i.e. equally priced silver gleaves and silver bell), what emerges is an enduring concern with the communal profit and usefulness of the Shrovetide customs, as maintained through reciprocal actions. While the 'auncyent' ball games had once been considered 'gode & laudable usagez', the recent 'inconvenientes' had rendered them unprofitable; reform was needed to retain them as 'godlye feate & exercise' advantageous to the 'common Welthe'. Through careful alterations which preserved the spirit of the festive tradition while converting the customary actions to 'better use', Mayor Gee successfully accomplished his goal. Indeed, he was so successful the reformed Shrovetide sports were practiced near-annually for another 170 years, while most of the city's pre-Reformation pageantry fell prey to religious and socio-economic changes.[10]

While the timing of these reforms suggests humanist and/or Protestant motivations, the mayoral ordinance itself connects them to this older and more fundamental ideological conflict over the

[8] *REED: Cheshire*, 76. A 'gleave' or glaive was usually a weapon consisting of a blade fastened to a long shaft. According to the OED, it was also known from as early as the fourteenth century as a 'lance set up as winning-post in a race, and given as a prize to the successful competitor'. Like winning the standard in a horse-race, winning the glaive in a foot-race could refer simply to winning the prize. The Shoemakers' glaives were undoubtedly a physical object, however, as the company paid goldsmiths to make them each year. Their exact form is unknown, but they seem to have been similar to the newlyweds' silver arrows; Rogers uses the words 'gleave' and 'arrow' interchangeably when describing the married men's homages, as do minutes from the goldsmiths' company detailing how the silver arrows were to be manufactured (*REED: Cheshire*, 329-330, 386). In this way the prizes were basically ceremonial lances in miniature (See Ibid, 1112).

[9] *REED: Cheshire*, 331.

[10] As will be covered below, the Chester's Shrovetide sports persisted into the first decade of the 1700s, when they were folded into the more popular and successful St George's Day races.

social value of sport. The preamble of Gee's ordinance is largely copied from Henry VIII's 1528 ban on certain 'Unlaufull gaymes' – among them football – because they detracted from proper archery training and by extension the military prowess of the nation. The order makes clear this concern belonged not just to Henry VIII, but to 'his noble progenitors' as well.[11] Indeed, in its ideological conflict over whether and how to sponsor Shrovetide sports, early Tudor Chester was neither unique nor original. Cities, towns and villages across the British Isles organized Shrovetide sport, particularly football, throughout the medieval and early modern periods. At the same time, from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries, royal, civic and ecclesiastical authorities repeatedly banned football, with particularly frenzied condemnation during the English and Scottish Reformations. This chapter is concerned with football patronage in the face of such sustained prohibition, and the strategies and motivations behind the adoption, retraction, maintenance and/or alteration of an illegal festive practice in urban contexts. To interrogate this apparent contradiction, it attempts the first in-depth examination of Shrovetide civic-sponsored football and its attendant pageantry in medieval and early modern Britain. By closely analysing and comparing the specific sporting practices, ceremonies and pageantry of different localities, and their development over time, this chapter aims to show how civic institutions used the specific framing of Shrovetide to circumvent the violent characteristics and negative associations of football and make the sport work for them.

Out of all Shrovetide customs, football has received perhaps the most scholarly attention. Much of the latter, however, has related to its nineteenth century iterations and present-day survivals.[12] Far fewer detailed studies have been made of its form prior to industrialization, and almost none on football sponsorship in larger premodern urban corporations. While historians of football have done the most legwork on Shrove football, they have tended to treat it either as a prelude to the main event (i.e. nineteenth-century codified football), or as something wildly violent and 'other' to be distanced from the rule-bound versions of today. [13] Historians of

[11] *REED: Cheshire*, 75.

[12] Shrovetide ball games are still played in about a dozen small communities scattered lightly across Cornwall, the Midlands, the Northeast and Scottish Borders. There are also a handful of communities (four to be exact) which still hold matches in the Christmas or Easter season. On all these see H. Hornby, *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008).

[13] For football histories which treat premodern football in some detail see especially F. Magoun, *History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 31; Bochum-Langendreer: H. Pöppinghaus, 1938); M. Marples, *A History of Football* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954); P. Young, *A History of British Football*, (London: Arrow Books, 1968); A. Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2005); J. Goulstone, 'Football's Secret History –chapters 2 and 3', *Soccer and* Society, 19.1 (2018), 35-49. Histories focusing on modern festive football which include particularly detailed studies of their premodern antecedents include Hornby, *Uppies and Downies*; J. D. M. Robertson, *The Kirkwall Ba': Between the*

popular culture have considered the cultural and social value of football to medieval and early modern communities, but usually in terms of eighteenth and nineteenth century urbanization and industrialization, or medieval and early modern revolt and disorder.[14] Scholars of civic pageantry, perhaps best equipped to study Shrovetide ball games as sanctioned urban festivity, have almost completely ignored the subject, perhaps due to a lack of familiar Carnival forms of display (i.e. dramatic/mimetic/visual).[15] As this chapter will show, however, music, processions, ceremonies and feasting were often an integral part of these civic Shrovetide events, with the ball play the great spectacle at the centre. In almost all this literature the contradiction between prohibition and practice has been recognized, but rarely seriously queried. What follows then is an attempt to examine Shrovetide football on its own pre-Industrial terms, in the context of urban communities which supported or adapted it, and with an eye for the social efficacy which made such festive practices profitable to their sponsors. This is done first through a brief overview of football in premodern Britain, including a survey of festival football's geographic spread throughout the island, followed by a series of close

Water and the Wall, (Edinburgh: Dunedin, 2005). For premodern football's significance in English literature see F. P. Magoun, Jr., 'Football in Medieval England and in Middle-English Literature', *American Historical Review*, 35 (1929), 33-45; P. S. Fairman, '"The Bewties of the Fut-Ball": Reactions and References to This Boysterous Sport in English Writings, 1175-1815', *Estudios Ingleses De La Universidad Complutense*, 2 (1994), 47-57.

[14] General works on popular culture often consider sport and recreation, but there is a dedicated literature on the subject as well. For works which treat closely with premodern British festival football, but mostly in the context of industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see especially R. W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (London: CUP, 1973); J. Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000); E. Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford: OUP, 2005). For social and cultural historical studies of British football in the medieval and early periods prior to 1700 see D. Dymond, 'A Lost Social Institution: The Camping Close', *Rural History* 1, 2 (1990), 165-192; D. Underdown, 'Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture during the Early Modern Period', in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 28-47; W. Cormack, 'Playing By the Rules?: Early Modern Sport and Control in the Northern Mainland Royal Burghs of Scotland', *Sport in History*, 36.3 (2016), 305-27; R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 159–63.

[15] Despite the extensive literature on medieval and early modern civic pageantry in Britain, and the extensive literature on Carnival civic pageantry in continental Europe, the two have almost never been combined to consider British Shrovetide civic pageantry. As discussed in the thesis introduction, this seems to extend from a reluctance to consider sport and its attendant ceremonies and pageantry as organized Carnival public festivity. Notable exceptions derive from scholarship related to performance. For medieval Britain, several works concentrate on the fifteenth-century 'Gladman's Riding' of Norwich and its relevance to civic Shrovetide festivity: see especially T. Pettitt, '*Carnevale* in Norwich, 1443: Gladman's Parade and its Continental Connections', *Medieval English Theatre*, 39 (2017), 35-76; C. Humphrey, '"To Make a New King": Seasonal Drama and Local Politics in Norwich, 1443', *Medieval English Theatre*, 17 (1995), 29-41. For early modern Britain, exceptions include works associated with the REED projects on Chester and Carlisle, where evidence has been collected of Shrovetide sport and musical pageantry. These two cities form part of the case studies below but see the editions for brief summaries: *REED: Cheshire*, lxvii-lxviii; *REED: Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, eds. A. Douglas and P. Greenfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 25. See also David Mills' work on the Chester Shrovetide sports, in *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and Its Whitsun Plays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 73-8.

studies of medieval and early modern civic Shrovetide ball games, and concluding with an analytical synthesis of all the above.

'Furies of the Football War': The Contested Ball Game in Premodern Britain

Apart from feasting and drinking, sports and games were the most common and enduring Shrovetide pastimes in Britain. The type of game and the manner of play varied greatly across geography and social strata, but a spirit of competition and athleticism united all in the days before Lent. Beyond casual games, athletic displays, and children's pastimes, some of which have already been explored in the last chapter, Shrovetide was a premier occasion for organized sporting events of mass participation, spectatorship, and sometimes official sponsorship. It is in effect these three factors that set festive sports apart from those of the day-to-day. Although many sports had their seasons, nearly all of them were pursued throughout the year on a casual basis when time allowed. Festivals, however, allowed participation and spectatorship on the largest scale. Their seasonal, and therefore predictable nature made patronage from institutions and individuals possible, and allowed traditional ceremonies and rituals to form around activities which, at other times, might be considered simple diversions. At Shrovetide, this sport sponsorship took a variety of forms, from the examples of cock-fighting discussed in the last chapter, to the 'siege' put on by a group of young men for the corporation of York in 1556, one side attacking a mock castle and the other defending it.[16] The latter contest mirrors, in a highly contrived and chivalric sort of way, the war-like nature of that most popular of Shrovetide mass-participation sports, football.

Medieval and early modern football bore only passing resemblance to its codified modern descendants, in Britain namely association football and rugby. Firstly, the preoccupation over whether the ball should be kicked, carried, or thrown is mostly a modern one; premodern footballers often practiced all the above (See for e.g. **Fig. 1 and 2**). The difference between football and handball was certainly acknowledged – in written records as early as the mid-fourteenth century, when Edward III banned both sports – but this distinction seems to have had more to do with the size of the ball rather than any standard rules about how it should be

[16] *York Civic Records, Part 5*, ed. A. Raine (Record Series vol. 110; York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society,1946), 117: 'Item where dyverse the honest yong men of this Citie on Shrove tewysday last to showe my Lord Mayour and Aldermen and wholle Comonaltye of this Citie honest and pleasant pastyme, one sorte in defendyng a fort and thother in makyng thassaults were at chardges in dyvisyng and preparyng the same—they shall have towards their chargds in reward of the Chamber costs tenne shillyngs.'

played.[17] Despite differences, both football and handball were essentially variations on the same theme: simply put, there was a ball and it was contested by players using all or part of their bodies. While communities and regions sometimes developed rules to prohibit either carrying or kicking, there was generally no standard national practice until the mid-nineteenth century. As Hugh Hornby has put it, premodern folk football was a 'genus not a species'.[18] Operating within the broad definition stated above, this chapter groups football and handball together as 'contested ball play', catching the many regional variations, such as East Anglian campball, Welsh cnapan, and Cornish hurling under one heading in the process. It excludes all other premodern ball games where the ball itself was not contested.[19] For simplicity's sake, 'football' and 'ball game' will thus be used in this chapter interchangeably as catch-all terms, excepting in contexts where an appropriate regional name can be used (e.g.cnapan, campball).[20]

Although gameplay could sometimes resemble violent brawls, it would be erroneous to state premodern ball games had no rules or players no purpose. Admittedly, some football play had rules only in the loosest sense of the modern term, but objectives existed, nonetheless. In street football, for example, the aim of the game was often to gain possession of the ball, whether to keep it as a prize, as with the Saddlers' ball in Chester, or to kick it away again. Indeed, a version of this form can still be observed yearly in the small Midlands town of Atherstone (**Fig. 3**), where individuals struggle in the streets for the privilege to kick the ball away again. Street football, however, could also be organized to a higher degree, as Francis Willughby tells us in his *Book of Games*, compiled around 1670:

> They play in a long street, or a close that has a gate at either end. The gates are called Goals…The ball is thrown up in the middle between the goals…the players being equally divided according to their strength and nimbleness…They that can strike the ball through their opponents' goal first win. They usually leave some of their best players to guard the goal while the rest follow the ball.[21]

[17] For the ban see Figure 5. Handballs were smaller, often made of wood but sometimes softer materials like the silk or velvet balls of the Chester newlyweds; this made them easier to carry and throw but more difficult to kick. Footballs were larger, usually made from animal bladders and covered in leather; this made them easier to kick but more difficult to throw. On the balls used in folk football past and present, see Hornby, 12.
[18] Hornby, 12.
[19] In other words, bat-and-ball, racket-ball, bowling-ball, etc. Stick-and-ball games (i.e. hockey, shinty, Irish hurling), though certainly forms of contested ball play and likely related to handball, have also been excluded due to the addition of a striking tool.
[20] On these variations see Hornby, *Uppies and Downies*, and Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 154-5.
[21] As quoted in Hornby, 24.

FIGURE 1 Medieval ball players c.1350 carved on a misericord in the choir stalls of Gloucester Cathedral. Credit: Dominic Strange © www.misericords.co.uk CC BY-SA 3.0

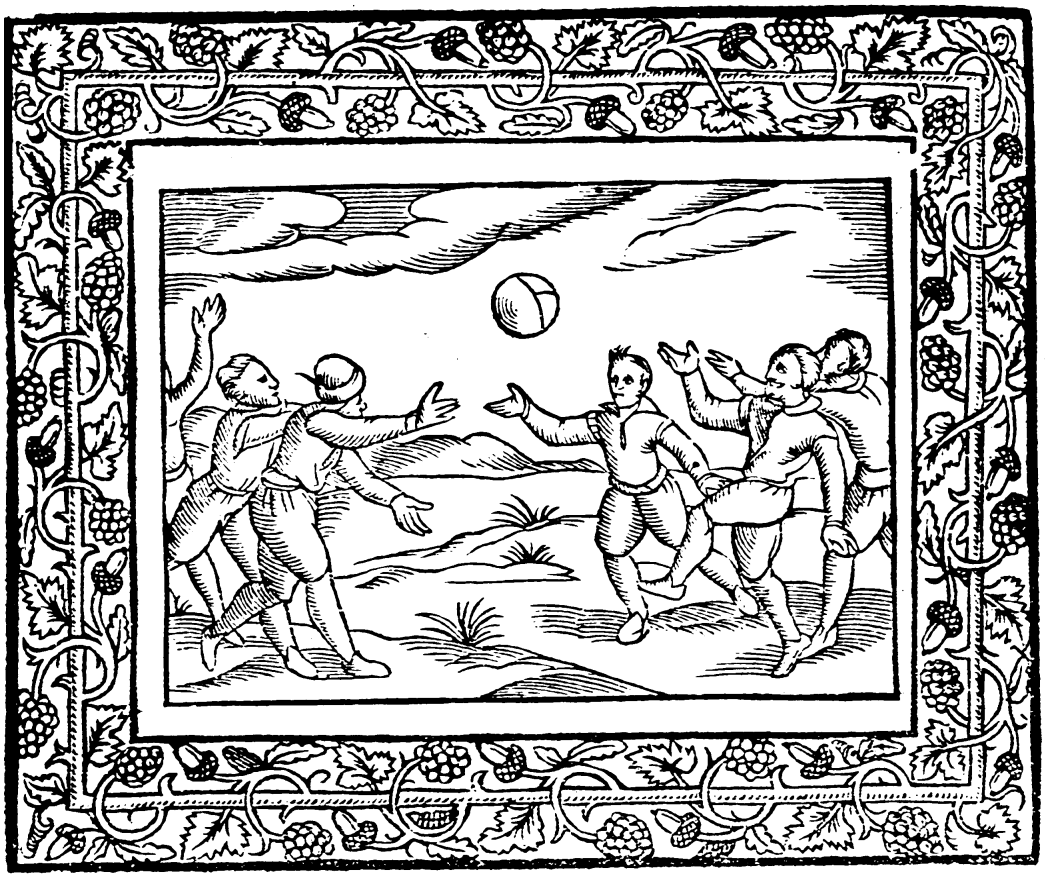


FIGURE 2 From Henry Peacham’s ‘The country Swaines, at football here are seene’, in *Minerua Britanna* (London, 1612), 81. Note the use of both hands and feet. Copy of image used with kind permission from Houghton Library, Harvard University (Call Number GEN STC 19511).and ProQuest LLC. who produced the image for *Early English Books Online.* Further reproduction prohibited without permission of ProQuest at www.proquest.com.

The objective in most games then was to move the ball to established goals, which could be within an urban area, a large expanse of the countryside, or a smaller, more defined field of play. The Shoemakers and Saddlers’ game in Chester illustrates the first type: each side contended to advance the football from Roodee field to the Common Hall or one of the sheriffs’ houses. Examples of the two other types of goal can be found in antiquarian Richard Carew’s account of Cornish hurling, a handball game played with a wooden ball encased in silver. Published in 1602, the *Survey of Cornwall* describes the sport’s two primary forms as hurling ‘to goales’ and ‘to the countrey’. The former involved between 15 to 30 players a side contesting in a defined area to advance the ball to the opponent’s goal, marked by two bushes set on the ground and guarded by a keeper. According to Carew, such games were ‘mostly used at weddings, where commonly the ghests undertake to encounter all commers’. In contrast, hurling to country was:

> …more diffuse and confuse, as bound to few of these orders: Some two or more Gentlemen doe commonly make this match, appointing that on such a holyday, they will bring to such an indifferent place, two, three, or more parishes of the East or South quarter, to hurle against so many other, of the West or North. Their goales are either those Gentlemens houses, or some townes or villages, three or foure miles asunder…When they meet…a silver ball is cast up, and that company which can catch, and cary it by force, or sleight, to their place assigned, gaineth the ball and victory.[22]

While the rules in Carew’s account apply specifically to Cornish hurling, the division into two main types of play was shared by many football and handball forms across Britain. East Anglian camp-ball, a particularly rough carrying and kicking form of football, was regularly played between two teams of equal numbers within the strict boundaries of designated camping closes. Occasionally though, it was also played cross-country between teams of indeterminant numbers.[23] The flamboyantly violent cnapan, played in the southern parishes of Wales with a wooden ball made slippery with tallow, also had two types: ad hoc games (usually smaller) organized on holidays or Sundays by two gentlemen, and ‘settled or standing cnapan’ played traditionally on designated festivals.[24] It is these larger festival matches which were usually

[22] As quoted in Hornby, 139.
[23] Hornby, 26-7; D. Dymond, ‘A Lost Social Institution: The Camping Close’, *Rural History* 1, 2 (1990), 165-192.
[24] Hornby, 25.

divided along community lines: parish versus parish, town versus country, upriver versus downriver, guild versus guild, married versus bachelor, and so on and so forth. Such communal teams remain the norm in the Shrovetide survivals of present day, when each year married men battle bachelors in the Scottish Borders village of Duns, town contests country in the Cornish community of St Columb Major, and north of the river clashes with south of the river in the Derbyshire town of Ashbourne (See **Fig. 4**).[25]

As the accounts above make clear, football was played in a variety of fashions, and was pursued on holidays, Sundays and other times of leisure throughout the year. However, from the earliest records of the sport, the larger scale versions, and all versions really, were most closely associated with the winter season and its prominent festivals. More specifically, football was causally linked to cold weather and frost. It was the perfect game to stir the body's 'natural heat', in the words of Fitzstephen.[26] Tangential winter activities also supplied a bounty of the requisite materials for the sport. The poet Alexander Barclay described in his early sixteenth-century work *Amintas and Faustus* how, when men were 'busied in killing of fat swine' the 'little boyes' would 'get the bladder and blowe it great and thin'. Throwing and smiting it as a ball 'with foote and with hande', the boys and 'sturdie plowmen' (our Shrovetide demographic from Chapter 1) would run and leap to 'drive away the colde', and thus 'overcommeth the winter with driving the footeball'.[27] From a practical standpoint, the bladders needed to make footballs would be most plentiful around the slaughtering festivals of Martinmas and Shrovetide, one ushering in winter, and the other booting him out. Well over a century after Barclay's poem, Samuel Pepys, on 3 January 1665, wrote of the chilly causality: 'The streets full of footballs, it being a great frost'.[28] But perhaps the most definitive evidence that football was played in winter more than any other time of the year comes from the uncanny tendency of prohibitions to appear in the coldest months. Two case studies, from disparate times and places, handily illustrate winter's enduring position as football season.

[25] For details on these three and other examples see Hornby, *Uppies and Downies*.
[26] William Fitzstephen, 'The Life of Saint Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr', trans. H. E. Butler, in F. M. Stenton (ed.) *Norman London*, 30.
[27] Alexander Barclay, *The fyfte eglog of Alexandre Barclay of the cytezen and vplondyshman. Here after foloweth the prologe.* (London, 1518), sig. A3r-v.
[28] Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. (1970-83), vi. 3.

FIGURE 3 Shrove Tuesday football begins in Atherstone, Warwickshire on 17 February 2015. Evidence for the tradition dates to as early as 1790. Photo Credit: Taylor Aucoin

FIGURE 4 Shrove Tuesday football in Ashbourne, Derbyshire on 9 February 2016. Two games are played every year. One on Shrove Tuesday and the other on Ash Wednesday. Evidence for the tradition may date back as early as 1683. Photo Credit: Taylor Aucoin

From 1377-1384, the halmote of Durham priory issued nine injunctions or fines against football play. Eight out of the nine were issued at the winter session, held in January or February.[29] We can infer Shrove Tuesday was indeed a common occasion for such matches from a contemporary inquisition involving a witness from Wolviston, County Durham 'hit on the shin and gravely injured while playing football…*in festo carniprivii*' in the year 1380.[30] Likewise, between 1572 and 1615 there were at least sixteen mayoral precepts 'againste footeball playe' in the city and suburbs of London. Out of these sixteen precepts, fifteen were issued between the beginning of November and the end of February and the one remaining was proclaimed in October. Two of the ordinances came within the Twelve Days of Christmas, while four others were issued in explicit preparation for Shrovetide.[31] Indeed, Shrovetide is the only festival ever specifically mentioned by name in the orders.[32]

Drawing on newly collected references related to as many as seventy separate medieval and early modern cities, towns or villages in Britain, the map in **Figure 6** corroborates and expands on the evidence from Durham and London: festival football matches were played in nearly every corner of the island before the Industrial period (i.e. prior to c.1760), and Shrovetide and Christmas were typically, though not always, the favoured festivals. Strikingly, a good proportion of these records point to official sponsorship, or at least tolerance. At different times this patronage could be found in larger cities like Dublin and London, prosperous burghs like Perth and Glasgow, modest towns such as Derby and Jedburgh, and humble villages like Chesterton and Corfe Castle. Patrons ranged from city corporations and craft guilds in larger urban areas, to prominent individuals and magistrates in smaller settlements. Grammar schools sponsored matches for children, as did gentlemen for their tenants in the countryside. [33] How far such official sponsorship helped individual traditions survive into the industrial era is not easy to discern, but survive Shrovetide football did. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the traditional festive sport continued to thrive in towns throughout Britain, though

[29] *Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis: Containing Extracts from the Halmote Court or Manor Rolls of the Prior and Convent of Durham, A.D. 1296 - A.D. 1384*, ed. W.H. Longstaffe and J. Booth (Publications of the Surtees Society, 82; Durham: Surtees Society, 1889), 138, 148, 161, 166, 168, 171, 175, 180.
[30]Durham Cathedral Archive: Register I, GB-0033-DCD-Regr-1, fos. ii. 94v-95r. in *Durham University Library: Archives and Special Collections Online Catalogue* http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s1pz50gw11v.xml;query=shrove;brand=default#1
[31] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/020, fos. 27r, 323r (1572, 1576); COL/CC/01/01/021, fo. 151v (1581); COL/CC/01/01/022, fos. 10v, 156v, 257, 366 (1586, 1588, 1589, 1590); COL/CC/01/01/023, fos. 168, 225v, 232r, 343v (1593, 1593, 1594); COL/CC/01/01/026, fo. 27v (1602); COL/CC/01/01/027, fo. 14v (1605); COL/CC/01/01/028, fo. 160v (1611).
[32] Specifically, those issued for 1588-91 and 1594.
[33] Examples are listed in Appendix B.

in fewer and fewer large urban areas.[34] Football historians Hugh Hornby and Peter Swain have documented over 170 instances of festival football in the nineteenth century alone.[35] While some of these may have been revivals or new festive innovations inspired by neighbouring communities, the sheer number, connected with the premodern information presented here, suggests many were long-standing rural traditions hitherto undocumented.

Institutional partnership with an exceedingly rough pastime appears puzzling, and particularly so when one considers the unrelenting parade of official prohibitions against football from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth. Between the reign of Edward II and the beginning of the English Reformation there were at least twenty-four royal, civic, or ecclesiastical decrees banning football outright in Britain (see **Fig. 5**). Official royal prohibition remained on the books after the reign of Henry VIII, and we have occasional reference to enforcement and prosecution in the century which followed.[36] Beyond the royal stance, civic and religious bans only increased in the wake of Reformation. As mentioned before, the city of London alone forbade football sixteen times in a 45-year period, and many more bans can be cited from other communities. Thus, it is initially difficult to reconcile examples of enthusiastic support at varying levels of authority from the fifteenth into the eighteenth century, with the dominant ideologies at work during those same periods. This conflict over the appropriate attitude towards football is neatly reflected in Richard Carew's own turmoil over the value of Cornish hurling:

> I cannot well resolve, whether I should more commend this game for the manhood and exercise, or condemne it for the boysterousnes and harmes which it begetteth: for as on the one side it makes their bodies strong, hard and nimble, and puts a courage into their

[34] A. Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story*, (Oxford, 2005), 6. Emma Griffin charts this eighteenth-century decline in some of the larger towns, but she is perhaps too hasty in saying that by the second half of the eighteenth century 'set matches of street football were played in no more than a dozen or so places'. See E. Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 84-113, quote at 104.

[35] Hornby, 23-35; Harvey, 1-17. P. Swain, 'Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer: A Reply to Tony Collins', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33:3 (2016), 251-271, at 269.

[36] For e.g in 1562 at the Essex Quarter Sessions a presentment was made concerning 'foteball play' on Mid-Lent Sunday involving the 'parysshe of Stonedon [Stondon Massey] agaynst the parysshe of Keldon [Kelvedon Hatch],,, contrary to the Statute'. In 1633 several labourers of Cropthorne, Worcestershire were called to present themselves at the quarter sessions 'concerning the usage of the unlawful game of footeball contrary to the Statutes of the land' on Ascension Day. See Q/SR 5/36, in *Essex Record Office Online Catalogue* **http://seax.essexcc.gov.uk/result_details.aspx?ThisRecordsOffSet=41&id=255944;** 1/1/57/36, in *Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service Online Catalogue* **http://e-services.worcestershire.gov.uk/CalmView/default.aspx**

> hearts, to meet an enemie in the face: so on the other part, it is accompanied with many dangers, some of which do ever fall to the players share.[37]

The rest of this chapter seeks to answer how such ideological conflicts were resolved and sponsorship of festive football maintained, adapted, or withdrawn. This will be done first by exploring five urban case studies of football sponsorship in some depth, before turning to a final comparative analysis of evidence to draw conclusions based on Shrove Tuesday's privileged position as 'Football Day'.

Year	Issued by	Authority	Coverage	Prohibited	Reason for Ban
1314	Mayor	Civic	London	Everyone	Public Nuisance
1331	Edward III	Royal	England	Everyone	Public Nuisance
1349	Edward III	Royal	England		
1363	Edward III	Royal	England	Everyone	Idle Distraction from Archery
1364	Synod	Church	Ely	Clergy	Violence
1365	Edward III	Royal	England	Able-Bodied Men	Idle Distraction from Archery
1377-1384	Durham Priory	Church	Priory Lands	Tenants	
1388	Richard II	Royal	England	Servants/ Labourers	Idle Distraction from Archery
1389	Richard II	Royal	England		
1401	Henry IV	Royal	England		
1410	Henry IV	Royal	England	Mayors of Offending Towns	
1414	Henry V	Royal	England		
1422		Civic	Walsall	Everyone	Except at Xmas; Prison and Fine
1424	James I	Royal	Scotland	Everyone	
1450		Civic	Halifax		
1454		Civic	Halifax		
1457	James II	Royal	Scotland		Idle Distraction from Archery
1467	Borough		Leicester		
1471	James III	Royal	Scotland		Idle Distraction from Archery
1474	Edward IV	Royal	England	Everyone	Idle Distraction from Archery
1477	Edward IV	Royal	England	Everyone	Idle Distraction from Archery
1478	Mayor	Civic	London	Everyone	Idle Distraction from Archery
1481	James III	Royal	Scotland		Idle Distraction from Archery
1488	Borough	Civic	Leicester		
1491	James IV	Royal	Scotland		Idle Distraction from Archery
1496	Henry VII	Royal	England	Artificers, Servants, Labourers,	Except at Christmas
1518	Archbishop of Dublin	Church	Arch-diocese	Clerics	
1528	Henry VIII	Royal	England	Everyone	Idle Distraction from Archery

FIGURE 5 Table showing sample of football bans in the British Isles before the Reformation. **[38]**

[37] As quoted in Hornby, 139.

[38] Compiled from G. Curry and E. Dunning, *Association Football: A Study in Figurational Sociology*; F. Magoun, *History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871*; M. Marples, *A History of Football*; P. Young, *A History of British Football*.

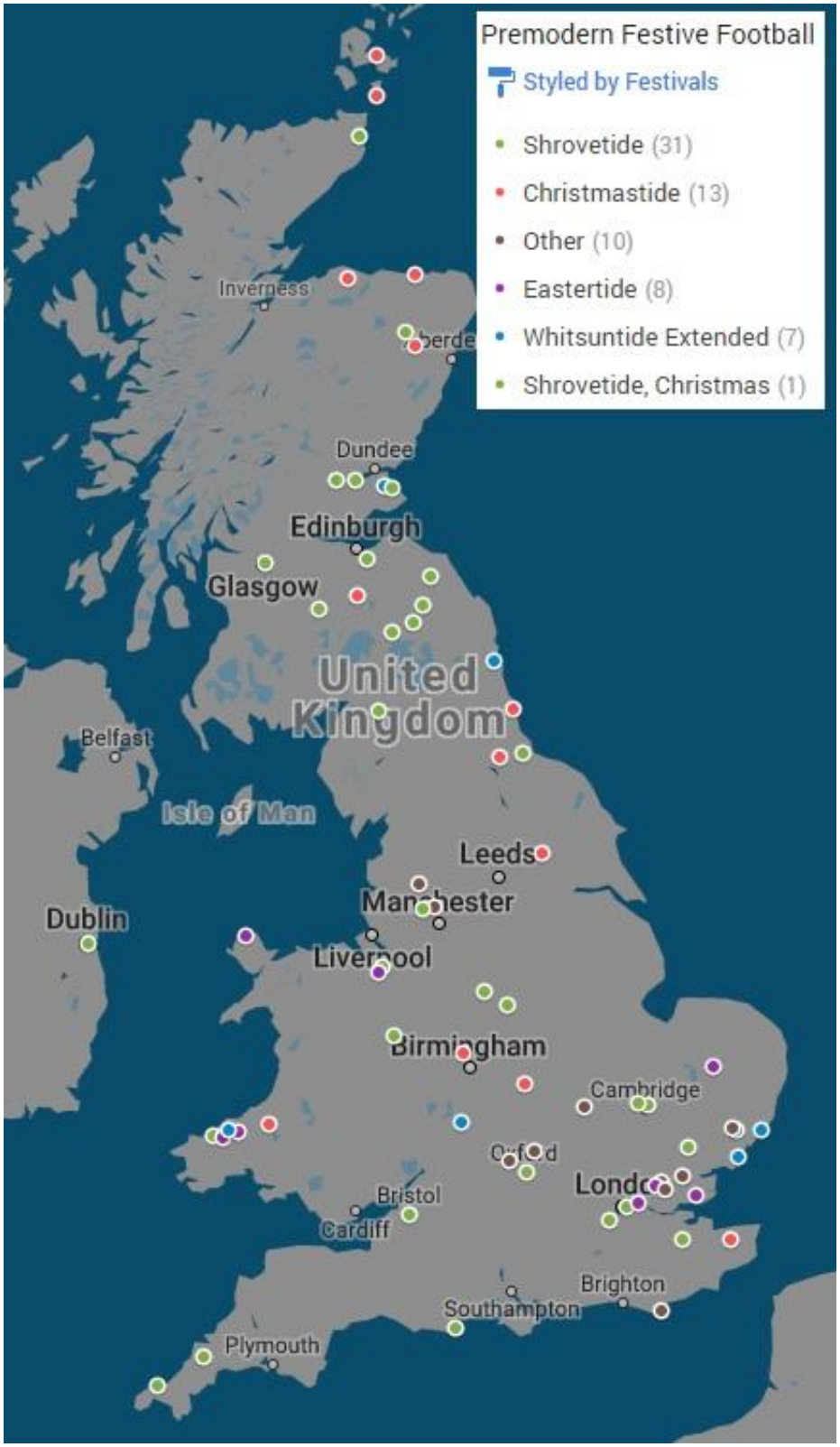


FIGURE 6 Map showing locations where festival ball games were played at least once in the medieval and early modern period (i.e. before c.1765). Evidence ranges from a singular incident (most of the cases), to collections of records showing sustained tradition over centuries. Data are organized by festive occasion. ‘Whitsuntide Extended’ refers to the 21-day period from Ascension to Corpus Christi. For more details see Appendix B., where all locations are listed with sources.

London Before the Reformation: The Famous Game of Ball

The recorded history of Shrovetide football in London spans six centuries. Yet despite the tradition's impressive pedigree in the city, there are frustratingly few records to illustrate the extent of the festive game's connection to civic institutions. Those records extant, however, are considerably older than other pertinent sources of urban football in England and Scotland before the sixteenth century, and as such provide perhaps our only indications of how the sport was played and regarded at this time. The story begins with William Fitzstephen's account of recreations in the city during the late twelfth century, picking up where we left off in the last chapter's discussion of Shrove Tuesday morning cock-fights in the schools:

> After dinner all the youth of the city goes out into the fields to a much-frequented game of ball. The scholars of each school have their own ball, and almost all the workers of each trade have theirs also in their hands. Elder men and fathers and rich citizens come on horseback to watch the contests of their juniors, and after their fashion are young again with the young.[39]

Shrovetide football was thus connected to students, craftsmen, and youth in general from the earliest extant record. Teams were apparently divided by trade or craft as well as school, and much like Chester's Shoemakers and Saddlers 350 years later, each brought their own ball to the field of play. Significantly, ball play took place *outside* the city rather than in its streets and thoroughfares. Perhaps this can account for the favourable outlook of the 'elder men…fathers and rich citizens' who came to spectate. In this context, the ball game was an amusing and rousing contest of strength, worthy of support and admiration. Considering Fitzstephen's highly laudatory tone throughout his description of the city, this wholly positive depiction of Shrovetide ball may be the clerk's attempt to portray municipal harmony rather than the roughness of reality. [40] Nonetheless, this evidence of semi-formalized ball play among the different crafts remains highly significant, partly because it predates so many of London's civic organizations, including the mayoralty, all the livery companies, and most of their craft and merchant guild antecedents. By as early as the fourteenth century, the corporation and the

[39] William Fitzstephen, 'The Life of Saint Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr', trans. H. E. Butler, in F. M. Stenton (ed.) *Norman London*, 30.

[40] On this see J. Scattergood, 'Misrepresenting the City: Genre, Intertextuality and William Fitzstephen's *Description of London* (c 1173)', in *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Boffey and P. King, (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995), 1-34.

individual livery companies were heavily involved in the civic pageantry which flourished before the Reformation. Merchants and craftsmen facilitated aspects of the Corpus Christi processions, watches at Christmas and Midsummer, and the myriad celebrations marking the election of the mayor.[41] As such it is possible the customs of Shrovetide, already connected to craftsmen in the twelfth century, were incorporated into guild by-laws and infrastructures as these institutions became more centrally organized over time. Unfortunately, the earliest surviving company ordinances and minutes date nearly two centuries after Fitzstephen's ball game, and by that time most official opinion had turned against football.

In April 1314, Mayor Nicholas de Farndone, on behalf of Edward II, issued the first major proclamation banning football in the city of London. Whatever official goodwill had existed for the sport in the twelfth century had vanished during the intervening period. The proclamation complained of 'great noise in the city caused by hustling over large footballs (*pelotes de pee*) in the fields of the public from which many evils might arise'.[42] Play was evidently still confined to fields outside the city, but it threatened the peace, nonetheless. This civic precept was soon followed by a succession of royal decrees (**Fig. 5**). After the Hundred Years War began in 1338, English monarchs became preoccupied with banning 'unthrifty or idle games' and ordering the practice of archery in their stead- language and prohibitions, as we have seen, still relevant in early Tudor Chester. Edward III issued one of the first of these national security measures to the sheriffs of London in 1365, forbidding every able-bodied man in the city from 'handball, football…or other vain games' on 'feast-days when he has leisure.'[43] Our next evidence of Shrovetide football in the city illustrates, however, that these repeated bans were of dubious effect.

In March 1373, six tailors and two pelters were brought before the mayor's court to answer charges against them, that on the day before Ash Wednesday, 'they and others with force and arms, to wit, swords and knives, made an assembly, under colour of playing with a football, in order to assault others, occasion disputes, and perpetrate other evil deeds against the peace in Sopers Lane, Cheap and Cordwainer Street' (**Fig. 7**). Two of the accused pleaded 'not guilty' while the others professed they 'had played football but done no harm'.[44] Despite, or

[41] *REED: Civic London to 1558*, ed. A. Lancashire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), xxii-lxii.
[42] Marples, 24.
[43] Marples, 28.
[44] LMA: CLA/024/01/02/19, Membr. 3r. For a partial translation of the manuscript see 'Roll A 18: 1372-73', in *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. A. H. Thomas

perhaps because of this admission they were committed to prison. Whether these craftsmen did conspire to riot, or were falsely accused, this source tells us much about the continuation of Shrove Tuesday football in late medieval London. Firstly, the football was organized and played by established craftsmen – not apprentices – and may have been a team match of tailors against pelters. This might explain the animosity; rivals in the textile trade, the Skinners' Company and Merchant Tailors' Company were famously at 'sixes and sevens' over their proper places in ceremonial precedence during this period, with the dispute coming to a violent head in the late fifteenth century.[45] Secondly, the football (or brawl) apparently took place in the streets of London and not the fields of recreation. Thirdly, the point of contention and reason for imprisonment was the assault and 'evil deeds' committed by the perpetrators. Despite Edward III's ban on football in the city eight years prior, the football play was not mentioned as a transgression in and of itself. Though the evidence is slight, the craftsmen's involvement and the mayor's disinterest in the football ban hints at a degree of institutional support or tolerance, despite the illegal nature of the sport. Finally, this episode suggests the tradition of Shrove Tuesday football continued unbroken in London through the Middle Ages, putting paid to any fantasies it was 'of no great antiquity'.[46]

In 1409, two incidents occurred in short succession which provide additional compelling evidence for civic patronage of Shrovetide football in London. On 4 March 1409, four tapicers (tapestry makers) and two parishioners of St. Denis Backchurch were brought into court before the Lord Mayor and aldermen in the Guildhall. They were then bound over:

> for their good behaviour towards the mistery of Cordwainers, and that none of them would in future collect money for a football (*pro pila pedali*) or money called "*cok sylver*" for a cock, hen, capon, pullet or other bird or for any other use, and that they

(London: HMSO, 1929), 150-162. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol2/pp150-162 [accessed 15 December 2018]. For some unknown reason, Thomas did not include the date of the crime in his translation. My thanks to Caroline Barron for her paleographical assistance in discerning this obscure date.

[45] On this rivalry see J. F. Wadmore, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners of London: Being the Guild or Fraternity of Corpus Christi* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1902), 4-5.

[46] As early as Francis Magoun's pioneering work on the history of football (1930s), and as recent as Adrian Harvey's work on the same (2005), historians have occasionally claimed that Shrovetide football cannot be traced back any further than the sixteenth century. To make this claim, historians usually have to disregard Fitzstephen's ball game on the shaky grounds that the word 'foot' is never mentioned. See Harvey, 6; Magoun, 101.

> would not thrash (*trituret Anglice thresshe*) any hen or capon or any other bird in the streets and lanes of the city, under penalty of £20.[47]

The combination of cock-threshing and football points to Shrovetide as the occasion for this transgression. Furthermore, Shrove Tuesday had occurred just two weeks before the day in court. It is unlikely the cock-threshing incident would have happened during the Lenten interval in-between, since the usual purpose of cock-threshing, besides the perverse pleasure of the game, was to tenderize the poultry for eating.[48] About one month later the following prohibition, almost certainly causally connected to the incident above, was appended to a re-issued mayoral order against Hocktide 'hocking' customs (i.e. groups capturing passers-by of the opposite sex and extracting fees from them for release):

> No person shall levy money, or cause it to be levied, for the games called '*foteballe*' and '*cokthresshyng*,' because of marriages that have recently taken place in the said city, or the suburbs thereof; on pain of imprisonment, and of making fine at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen.[49]

All told these last two sources provide tantalizing evidence of official toleration towards Shrovetide football customs in London, bound up in several different levels of civic authority. In neither of these two accounts does the corporation prohibit or punish the playing of football. Instead it prohibits a popular pastime of collecting money for football from those who have married recently, a practice we have already observed institutionalized in sixteenth-century Chester. The tapicers, however, were presumably established craftsmen acting out what they viewed to be a customary festive right in requesting ball money. Since the 'mistery of Cordwainers' acted as sureties, it is possible the offenders were also members of this guild. This would suggest another parallel to the games of early Tudor Chester in its connection between leatherworking trades and Shrovetide football. While the limited and opaque nature of these sources makes it difficult to move beyond theorizing, a relationship between civic

[47] LMA: CLA/024/01/02/041, Membr. 2r. Translation from 'Roll A 40: 1408-09', in *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 3, 1381-1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: HMSO, 1932), 289-301. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol3/pp289-301 [accessed 15 December 2018].

[48] As discussed in Chapter 1. See *Pasquils palinodia, and his progresse to the tauerne where after the suruey of the sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of poeticall sherry* (London, 1619), sig. D1v.

[49] 'Memorials: 1409', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Longman, Greens, 1868), 570-576. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp570-576 [accessed 6 April 2017].

institutions and football did seem to exist around the beginning of the fifteenth century which was neither fully prohibitive nor even negative. Possibly in direct response to this corporate tolerance, Henry IV followed up in 1410 with a re-issue of the royal decree against football and other unlawful sports. This time, however, he added a fine of £20 for the mayor and bailiffs of any towns which did not effectively enforce the ban. Four years later, Henry V followed suit with another new proclamation promoting archery at the expense of ball games, once again demonstrating royal attitudes towards the sport were far less ambiguous than civic ones (**Fig. 5**).

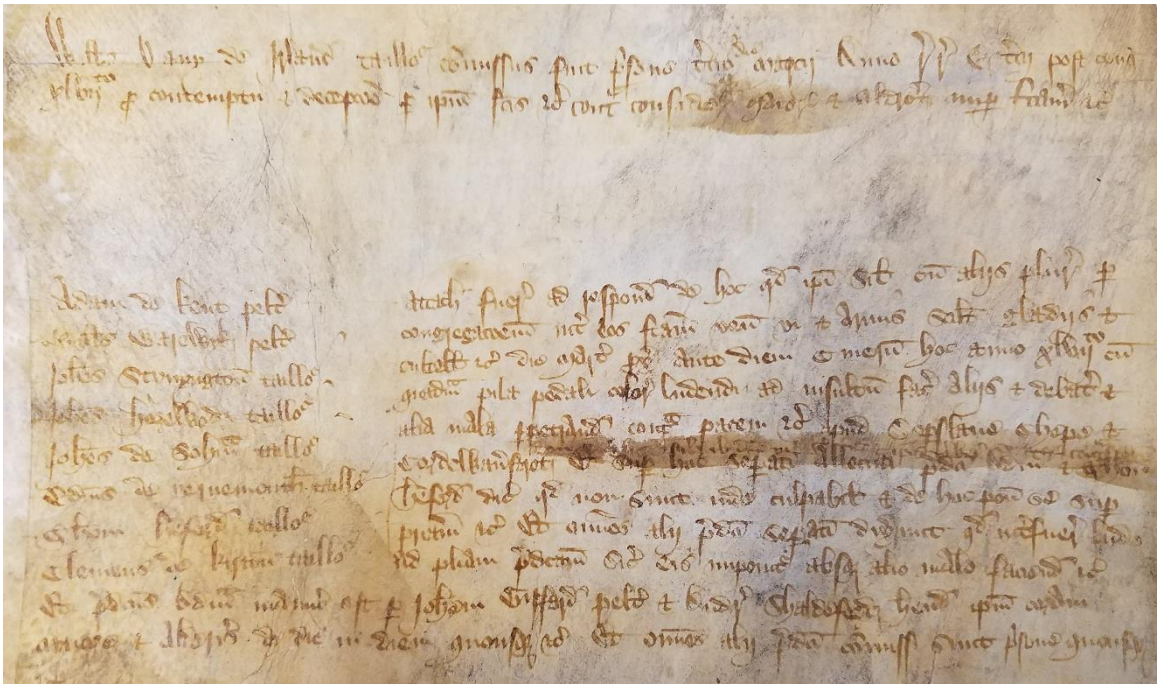


FIGURE 7 Oldest known reference to Shrove Tuesday football in London or England after William Fitzstephen’s c.1170 account. Alleged riot made under the pretence of playing football on the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday (*die martis proxima ante diem cineres*) in a Plea and Memoranda Roll of the City of London 1372/3. LMA: CLA/024/01/02/19, Membr. 3r. Credit: Reproduced with kind permission from the London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.

Despite legislation to the contrary, London organizations continued to play football during the early reign of Henry VI. From 1421-1430 an account book of the Brewers’ Company recorded periodic receipts from ‘the football players’.[50] Entered under sections titled ‘the names of the trades and fraternities that hired our hall’ and betwixt payments from the likes of ‘the clerks of

[50] LMA: CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440, fos. 84, 105, 153v, 158. I am grateful to Anne Lancashire for graciously directing me to these sources and others. At this time in the early fifteenth century, only a few livery companies had permanent halls in the city and they often generated money by renting out the spaces to other organizations for events.

London' or 'the glaziers', the implication seems to be that the players were connected to established institutions of some kind, rather than random members of the populace.[51] Furthermore, the fact 'the footballers' were not listed as a particular trade, while subdivisions within companies were otherwise recognized in entries like the 'yomen cordwayners', may hint the players belonged to more than one company. In other words, perhaps the hall was rented for post-match celebrations between two companies, or company teams. One hundred years later, the Common Hall in Chester was the site of such libations between Shoemakers and Saddlers, and indeed local pubs serve similarly today after a Shrovetide match between Uppies and Downies.[52]

The entries in the Brewers' account books are the final assuredly positive references to football in London before the Reformation. Only negative sources follow and mostly in the form of prohibitions, altercations, and punishments. Edward IV re-issued pro-archery bans on football in 1474 and 1477, and the Common Council proclaimed these prohibitions for the city again in 1479.[53] In that same year, the Mercers' Company added a by-law to their ordinances banning apprentices, hired men, and servants from playing football.[54] This was no doubt an attempt to enforce the statutes and ordinances coming down from on high, but significantly, the by-law did not prohibit freemen from playing. Other medieval bans made similar provisions: Richard II's enactment of 1388, and Henry IV's of 1410 banned only 'Servants and Labourers of Husbandry, and Labourers and Servants of Artificers, and of Victuallers' from 'playing at the Balls as well Hand-ball as Foot-ball'.[55] Henry VII's order of 1496 was socially stratified along similar lines, with one stipulation that everyone was allowed such games during the Christmas season. A local ordinance from the town of Walsall in 1422 made the same festive allowance, banning 'unlawefull games, except in Cristemas, as dyce, tables, cardes, cloke, tenys, foteball, or eny other lyke'.[56]

These official exceptions seem to reflect realities observable on the ground in late medieval London. From the Shrovetide football played by tailors, pelters and tapicers, to the football banquets held in the Brewers' Hall, football was apparently permissible in the city and perhaps

[51] Magoun, 12.
[52] Hornby, 8-9.
[53] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/08, fo. 201r
[54] *The Charters, Ordinances, and Bye-laws of The Mercers' Company*, (London: Wyman & Sons, 1881), 75-6.
[55] *The Statutes of the Realm* ed. A. Luders, 11 vols. (London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1810-1828), ii. 163.
[56] Robertson, 294.

supported by certain companies. It was, however, likely limited to those of appropriate social rank and age during approved festive periods. Contrastingly, over a century later, during the tumultuous decade of the 1590s, official attitudes towards football left no room for such tolerance in the capital city. A precept issued from the mayor's mansion house on 10 February 1594 charged 'every inhabitant' within every ward that 'during this time of Shrovetide neyther *themselves* nor anie of their servants or lodgers within their howses doe use anie football playe…within this Citie or suburbes'.[57] Though festival football would continue to thrive in the streets and fields of London for at least another century-and-a-half, it would do so without any explicit support of livery companies, and indeed against regular, and apparently futile prohibitions of the aldermen and Common Council. The next urban case study, however, provides far more concrete evidence of official adaptations to urban Shrovetide football in the medieval period.

Dublin: Bearing Balls at the Riding of Corperaunt

Paradoxically, the next surviving evidence for sponsored Shrovetide ball games in Britain does not come from the island itself and may only tangentially relate to sport. In Dublin, a Shrove Tuesday ball-bearing ceremony thrived from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century and may provide insight into the process by which civic authorities adapted traditional festival ball games into controlled events more useful to the corporations. Not British in the geographic sense, Dublin and the Pale were nonetheless English territories from the late twelfth century until the end of our period, and as such fit within the remit of this study. While never completely severed from the Irish hinterlands, by the fifteenth century most free Dubliners identified as English in the linguistic, political, and cultural sense. The city's rich calendar of festive events closely mirrored that of other English cities like London and Chester before the Reformation, with guild-sponsored pageantry a perennial affair.[58] Out of this pageantry, four chief events highlighted late medieval Dublin's festive year. These were clearly laid out in an order issued in 1466 by Dublin's governing body, the Civic Assembly, aimed at protecting 'suche persones

[57] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/023, fo. 343v. Emphasis mine.
[58] For e.g. the city held weapon musters on Easter Monday, May Day, Midsummer Eve and St. Peter's Eve; the territorial boundaries of the corporation were periodically marked with a 'Riding of the Franchises'; and individual guilds observed the feast days of their patron saints. See A. J. Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 130-133.

as will cum to the Citte in the ffestes of Corpus Christi Seint George Seint Patrik for procession and pylgrymage and hors for Rydyng at Corperaunt'.[59]

All sponsored by the city's religious and trade guilds, the major events reflected the city's history and mixed cultural heritage through celebrations of international (Corpus Christi), English (St George) and Irish (St Patrick) religious significance.[60] The fourth event, enigmatically named 'Rydyng at Corperaunt', refers to a horseback procession of some form which took place on Shrove Tuesday. According to historian of Irish theatre Alan Fletcher, 'Corperaunt' was a local term for Shrovetide, attested in contemporary Irish household accounts.[61] While the etymological origins of the term remain obscure, some details of the custom can be reconstructed from civic records spanning nearly two centuries.

The first reference to the Riding of Corperaunt comes from a Civic Assembly order issued in 1456, during the reign of Henry VI. It declared any man dwelling within the city who was married should 'bore hys ball' on the Shrove Tuesday next ensuing. If he failed to do so he would be fined 40s to the mayor and bailiffs 'wythoute eny gras'. Failure to pay the fine meant imprisonment for the offender until he satisfied 'the courte of the sayd sowme'.[62] Recalling the collections for football money in London and bearing striking resemblance to the married men's homages of nearby Chester, Dublin newlyweds had to present a ball upon Shrove Tuesday in some manner of ceremony. Such was the importance placed on this yearly

[59] A. J. Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until c. 1642*, (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), 225-6.

[60] Like urban areas throughout medieval Christian Europe, Dublin celebrated the holy sacrament of the mass at Corpus Christi with a pageant procession facilitated by religious and trade guilds. The ceremony was demarcated by strict civic hierarchy, with the pageants processing in a municipal order of precedence codified in the Chain Book of the Dublin Corporation as early as 1498. The feasts of St. George and St. Patrick, patron saints of England and Ireland respectively, were likewise marked with civic processions. The pageantry for the former celebration was appropriately provided by the St. George's guild, a religious fraternity based in St. George's Chapel and made up of members of the Civic Assembly While far fewer details survive for the St. Patrick's Day festivities, we may presume that they also saw a degree of 'procession and pylgrymage' as described above. See Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts*, 228-230; Fletcher, *Drama, Performance and Polity*, 131-2, 137-141.

[61] A. J. Fletcher, 'The Civic Pageantry of Corpus Christi in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Dublin', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 23 (1996), 74. The word is not listed in the OED, but seemingly derives from the Latin 'corpus' and, like other names for Carnival, probably relates to the slaughtering of animals and consumption of their carcasses before Lent.

[62] 'yf any man dwellyng wythin the sayd citte gate, what-somever condicyown he be of, yf he be wedyt withyn the sates. francheys othyr withoute, that he bore hys ball upon [Shrove Tuesda]ys day next suyng the day, upon the peyn of xl.s. to be payet to the courte wythoute eny gras. And yf eny man so wedyt fall in the peyn forsayde, that hit be laufull to Maire and Baylyfys for the tym beyng to rere the sayd payn. And yf he make eny [contradiction] to pay the sayd payn, he to be arest by hys body and kepte in ward tyll he satysfy the courte of the sayd sowme, not- wythstandyng hys fredome.': *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin in the Possession of the Municipal Corporation* [*CARD*], ed. J. T. Gilbert and R. M. Gilbert, 18 vols. (Dublin: J. Dollard, 1889-1919), i. 289-90.

presentation that the mayor and bailiffs were strictly bound to enforce it. If the officials failed in this charge, as the order continued, it was lawful for the treasurer of the city to have the next mayor imprison the former until the debt was received, to be spent upon ‘the town workys whare that hit ys most nedefull’.[63] In other words, responsibility for collecting the ball-bearing default fell upon the chief magistrates; they had to ensure it was paid, whether from the defaulter or from their own pockets.

Whether the 1456 order was a re-issue of a pre-existing ordinance, or an entirely new by-law is difficult to ascertain. The evidence, however, favours the latter. Recorded in the oldest surviving Dublin Assembly Roll, which covers the ordinances and memoranda of the city’s governing body from 1447-1461, there are no prior references to a ball bearing ceremony, and the wording of the initial order does not refer to previous enactments in any obvious way. [64] Contrastingly, later ordinances pertaining to the custom did just that, as the assembly repeatedly refined and clarified the parameters of the order. A 1459 reiteration of the law made clear which recently ‘weddyt’ men were liable to the custom and instituted a tier-based fine system for those who failed to bear their ball: ‘jures’ were fined forty shillings, ‘demi-jures’ twenty shillings, and ‘every comyne as he may avordy [afford]’.[65] These terms refer to Dublin’s three-tiered civic assembly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Twenty-four *jures,* or aldermen, made up the highest administrative group which annually elected the mayor from among its numbers. The rest of the assembly was made up of forty-eight *demi-jures,* and below them ninety-six commons elected from the various trade guilds of the city.[66]

It appears then the obligation to present a ball upon Shrove Tuesday lay only upon the enfranchised of the city. Apparently, there was still need for further specification, for another order followed in 1462 declaring, with perhaps a touch of exasperation, that indeed ‘all manner of men of the sayd cittie, as well clerkys of cowrte as othyr men, that ben weddit schall ber thar ball’.[67] This would not be the last time newlyweds tried to find a loop-hole in the order, and nor would it be the law’s last revision. A re-issue followed in 1465 stipulating that any fines collected should be split between the mayor and the treasurer ‘to be expendit on the town workys’, and in 1468 the power of the mayor and bailiffs to collect on defaulting ball-bearers

[63] *CARD*], i. 290.
[64] *CARD*, i. 271.
[65] *CARD*, i. 301.
[66] Fletcher, *Drama, Performance and Polity*, 129.
[67] *CARD*, i. 312.

was expanded.[68] Not only could the magistrates seize the offending newlywed himself, they could also distrain the 'godes in his hall or shop, notwithstandyng enny other lawe made contrary'.[69]

These strictures perhaps had the desired effect, for the order was not reissued again in the fifteenth century. Evidence of the practice resurfaces in the first extant city treasurer book, dated 1540-1613. [70] The by-law prefacing the 1540 accounts shows the fine rate for 'default in burying of his ball' had changed little in the intervening years (20s), and every account which follows until the book ends in 1613 shows collections for such defaults.[71] While the fine remained a fixture, an enactment of 1559 shows that the assembly continued to revise over time the regulations. Raising the fine to five pounds, it also made the proviso that mayor and treasurer had 'auncient aucthoritie to compounde [settle] with souch…unable to beare, as of olde time haith been used'.[72] This authority permitted the officials to waive the fine in certain circumstances, and both the assembly rolls and account book show this right in action, usually pertaining to freemen who were infirm or impoverished.[73] Such financial hardship evidently became a point of contention, for in 1600 the commons of the assembly complained that the law was hurtful to 'meny yongr men, slender of habilitie'. It was therefore amended to apply only to citizens 'worth of his owne proper goods, in his wifes right or his owne, the some of fortie pounds, Irishe'.[74]

After this last amendment, the public ceremony declined rapidly, seemingly because fewer citizens were liable for it, and those who still were, could afford to pay the fine instead of riding. In the 1540s, for example, there were usually no more than three to five ball fines each year, often paid by established master freemen.[75] By the early 1600s, however, fines typically topped twenty to thirty.[76] The ceremony continued through 1613 at the latest, for the last accounts of the treasurer's book not only record ball fines, but also the stipends of two officers

[68] *CARD*, i. 317-8.
[69] *CARD*, i. 328.
[70] Rather than indicative of any breach in the tradition, this large evidential gap likely derives from a lack of surviving assembly rolls for the first half of the sixteenth century. Assembly Rolls 4 and 5 are missing, covering July 1504 to October 1553: [70] Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts*, 76-77.
[71] DCA: MR/35, 7, passim. Shrovetide ball fines can be found in every account, and on nearly every page of this 800-page tomb.
[72] *CARD*, i. 484.
[73] For e.g. *CARD*, ii. 184, 188, 200, 213, 215; DCA: MR/35, 276, 444, 647, 784.
[74] *CARD*, ii. 338-9.
[75] For e.g. DCA: MR/35, (1542) 9, (1543) 22, 28, (1547) 54, 57, (1549) 72, 74, (1551) 92, 94.
[76] For e.g. DCA: MR/35, (1601) 599-601, (1602) 613-16, (1606) 696, (1612) 785.

responsible for 'bringing in of the fynes of balls at Shroftyde'.[77] Called variously sergeants or macebearers, this pair formed a part of the ceremony from as early as 1542, and indeed derived their wages at least in part from a 'due going out of the fynes of balls' which they collected in person on the day.[78] As near as can be surmised, the public ceremony was omitted between 1613-1616, for in 1616 a trumpeter asked the assembly to grant him fees which were 'in the past supplied by married young men… and other duties omitted of late'. Presumably most newlywed freemen were now choosing to treat the ball as a monetary due, instead of an obligatory public action. This rendered the ceremony a pointless exercise in need of omission, which in turn stripped certain officers of their opportunity to collect their annual wage. After 1616, only one last reference to the ball survives, when in 1621 the goldsmith Barnabe Ratliffe was 'remitted the fine of ball due by him to this citty, in respect of his poverty, and…restored againe to his place'.[79] The monetary due was obviously retained for some time, but when the treasurer accounts pick back up in 1650, after an unfortunate gap of nearly forty eventful years, no sign of it remains.[80]

The bearing of the balls was revised periodically during its existence and enforced with heavy hand, but how did the event actually unfold, and is there any evidence of sport and pageantry beyond the ball itself? An order from 1569 provides some answers to the former at least:

> It is agreed for eschuing contrauersie that maye ryse on Shroftuysday in bearing balles that euery occupacion to keape ordre in ryding with their ballis as they are appointed to go with their pageauntes yn Corpus Christi daye by the chayne boke Saving to euery man the auncyent preeminence of byrthe and mariadge.[81]

Like the Saddlers of Chester, those bearing a ball on Shrove Tuesday did so mounted upon horseback. The order in which the tradesmen should process, apparently a point of contention in times past, closely followed that of the traditional Corpus Christi processions.[82] Whether the riding followed the same route as the pageants through the city is not known, but it is certain

[77] DCA: MR/35, 785.
[78] DCA: MR/35, 16, 154.
[79] *CARD*, ii. 141.
[80] DCA: MR/36. (Treasurer's Accounts 1651-1717).
[81] Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts*, 257.
[82] This order of procession would have been well-known; not only was it written in the Chain Book, but the Corpus Christi pageants themselves were still being performed annually in the 1550s. See Fletcher, 'The Civic Pageantry of Corpus Christi', 84.

that riders did process through its streets. In 1596 a tanner named Nycholas Pursell was imprisoned because on ‘Shrof Tuesday last being to bere his ball’ he refused to obey ‘the Sheryves, who commanded hym and his company to marche into the cittie’.[83] The procession thus involved not only the married men on horse, but their entire respective companies as well. The sheriff and his two macebearers oversaw the event, with musicians providing pomp and entertainment. The treasurer’s book records payments ‘to seuerall Trompetors that served to…attend the Sheryves upon Shreftuesday in 1594’.[84] All told, the event was a festive spectacle involving the entire citizenry of Dublin and, as the ordinance from 1466 makes clear, drawing in crowds from afar.

The final destination of the processors and the balls they bore remains a mystery, but if the Chester homages can be taken as any indication, the newlyweds may have presented their ‘standing ball’, as it was sometimes called, to the mayor and treasurer, if not the sheriff and his officers. The ball itself seems to have remained a physical object until the seventeenth century, rather than an intangible symbol or simple monetary due. Repeated orders make clear that monetary fines were only owed when married men failed to process and bear their ball. The ball must have had value, perhaps requiring craftsmanship like the Chester ones of silk or velvet, because citizens repeatedly attempted to exploit loop holes and avoid processing with it. The most egregious of these ploys was called out in an order of 1573: ‘…some of the youthe of this cittie that…should have borne standinge balls, circumvented, and by their evill devices wrought to be as to them semed of no effect, under collor of makinge their mariadges upon Shrove Tuysdaie’. In response, the assembly declared that those men married upon Shrove Tuesday itself should ‘the same daye beare his ball or paye his fine appointed for his defaulte’.[85] The next tactic ball-dodgers employed was to leave the city during the Shrovetide season, but this too was curtailed by the assembly in 1594.[86]

Based on these efforts, it is obvious that the action of ball bearing came at a cost, presumably beyond that of outfitting a horse. Why else would newlyweds take such great pains to avoid it? By extension this implies that the married men did not get to keep their ball and thereby recoup

[83] *CARD*, ii. 294.
[84] DCA: MR/35, 516; transcribed in Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts*, 285. The ceremony was part of the city trumpeters’ normal duties. Special payments were only made in 1594 because Dublin was ‘then desytut of a trompetor’.
[85] *CARD*, ii. 78.
[86] *CARD*, ii. 277. The treasurer accounts record this tactic in action, as in 1573 Thomas Howard was discharged of his ball fine because he was ‘married upon Shrovetuesdaye’: DCA: MR/35, 276.

their losses. It must have been offered. However, only the collection of fines from defaulters is accounted in the records. Nowhere in the treasury book or assembly rolls is the collection of Shrove Tuesday balls, or their converted value recorded. Over and over it is the ceremonial action which is emphasized as incumbent, with the fine merely levied in its absence. It is possible then that a game lay at the heart of the ceremony, like the throwing of the Saddlers' ceremonial ball in Chester, and that we are thus seeing a much-altered version of Shrovetide football. There are certainly examples of ball play in the late medieval city, as when people played on the frozen Liffey from early December to Ash Wednesday in 1338-9, or when the Archbishop of Dublin banned the clerics of his diocese from participating in football in 1518.[87] With all this in mind it is probable, and likely considering comparative evidence, that the late medieval civic assembly of Dublin adapted a popular custom and ball game, and circumscribed it with layer upon layer of legislation, pomp and ceremony until it became controlled and useful to the corporation. The Shrove Tuesday ball bearing procession drew in tourists, provided entertainment for the city's inhabitants, acted as a fundraiser for town works, actively performed the citizenry's hierarchies, and publicly marked a social transition of its freemen with an incumbent action. It outlived most of its pre-Reformation counterparts, but gradually diminished from what was (likely) a medieval football folk custom into an obligatory ceremonial pageantry in the Tudor period, and finally into nothing more than a customary due in the early Stuart period. As the next urban case study reveals, however, the civic authorities of Dublin were by no means singular in their adaptive practices.

Perth: A Football and Banquet for Fastern's Eve

Back across the Irish Sea and north into the Kingdom of Scotland, our next evidence for civic sponsored festival football comes from the burgh of Perth. The first reliable reference to football in Scotland only appears in the fifteenth century, but by then the game was popular enough to warrant a royal ban. For the first eighteen years of his rule, the uncrowned James I was a political hostage living in England, at times even fighting alongside his captors in the Hundred Years War. It was perhaps these experiences that drove the newly crowned King of Scots to adopt a particularly English royal stance on football. At his first parliament in 1424,

[87] *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, with the Register of Its House at Dunbrody and Annals of Ireland. Vol. 2*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (London: Longman, 1884), Cxxxv, 381; J. O'Flanagan and B. Loewy, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland: From the Earliest times to the Reign of Queen Victoria*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1870), i. 154-5.

he forbade that 'any man play football under the pain of 4 *d.* to the lord of the land as often as he is convicted' and ordered the practice of archery in its stead. James II issued similar acts during his own reign, as did his own son and grandson (see **Fig. 5**). [88] The first of these prohibitions was declared at a Scottish parliament held in Perth, so it is somewhat perplexing to find football thriving and enthusiastically supported by the civic institutions of that same burgh some fifty years after the last ban was put in place (i.e. in 1491).

Early sixteenth-century Perth was a prosperous city on the River Tay, benefiting economically from its trade with the Baltic, France and the Low Countries, and politically from its proximity to Scone Abbey, the traditional site of Scottish coronations. The burgh was governed by a council composed of enfranchised merchants and craftsmen. The former were traditionally members of the Guildry, a merchant guild founded in the fifteenth century. The latter were masters selected from the eight trade incorporations of the city: the Tailors, Wrights, Hammermen, Weavers, Shoemakers, Glovers, Bakers, and Fleshers. These were conglomerates of different crafts, or sciences, which united into distinct civic bodies during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As elsewhere, these civic institutions were largely responsible for furnishing the city's festive pageantry before the Reformation, sponsoring May games, Corpus Christi processions, and feast day plays, alongside other customs.[89] Football in Perth was also inextricably bound to the trade incorporations, and indeed the first known reference to the sport in the burgh comes from an early minute book of the Wright Incorporation.

An act 'anent [against] the football and banket [banquet]', was recorded on 25 March 1538 and required that each Wright freeman 'the year he is married…give a football and banquet or be poinded for 14 shillings Scots and his shop shut up till payment'.[90] Remarkably similar in nature and wording to the ball-bearing ordinances of Dublin, this by-law of the Wrights was diligently observed. Numerous entries in the minute book show new freemen paying fees for their 'fredome, ball and banket' with the football being waived until the craftsman was duly wed.[91] Neither the act nor entries of new members ever explicated a specific occasion or day

[88] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, eds. K.M. Brown et al (St Andrews, 2007-2017), 1424/19,20; 1458/3/7; 1471/5/6; 1491/4/17. https://www.rps.ac.uk/ [accessed 17 October 2017].
[89] A. J. Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927), 68; M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 197-8.
[90] NLS: MS 19288 Incorporation of Wrights Minute and Account Book, 1519, 1528-1621, fo. 13r.
[91] For some examples see NLS: MS 19288, fos.13v (1538), 25v-26r (1598), 30v, 33r, 35r-v, 41r, 47v (1578), 65r, 76r, 77r (1602), 86v (1615).

that the football was needed for, but the records of other incorporations are more suggestive. By-laws, recorded in 1546, 1549, and 1550 in the Incorporation of Tailors' minute book ordered new freemen of the craft to present a football on the Fastern's Eve after they were married. On 23 February 1601, the Shoemakers likewise required their newlywed members to pay 'for yair futeball at fasterings evin'.[92] In point of fact, all eight trade incorporations, as well as the Guildry, required newly married freemen to pay for a football as part of their admissions during the early modern period.[93] Furthermore, evidence from five of the eight incorporations links the custom implicitly or explicitly to Fastern's Eve.[94] No other festival or occasion is ever associated with the 'ball and banket' fee in the records, and while payments for footballs were collected year-round, it is reasonable to assume that Fastern's Eve was the day when they were put into play. But were footballs put into play, or was the due merely symbolic? An incident recorded in the Hammermen's sixteenth-century minute book gives some suggestion.

On the Friday before Fastern's Eve in 1547, the masters of the Hammermen called a special meeting and declared that:

> …In all tymes to cume their shall nothir feall [servant] nor prenteis cume furth to the Inche or ony uthir place quhen the maisteris takis ony football of ane brother of Craft, bot shall remain at hame at thair labouris and wirk in thair maisteris buthis...and for this cawse, becawse upone the day preceding this dait the servandis maid ane divisioun amngis the maisteris in the tyme of the cuming fra thair banket under silence of the nycht, and had nocht bene the better counsel had maid sclachter [slaughter] amangis thameself.

Although a somewhat confusing tale, much can be inferred. The masters met on the Inch, a common field outside the city, to receive a brother's football and celebrate with a banquet. The

[92] Mill, 11.
[93] Evidence in addition to the Wrights, Tailors, and Shoemakers stated above: For the Glovers see PKCA: MS 67/1/1 Minute Book of the Glover Incorporation of Perth, 1593-1726, pp. 4, 21; *Annals of the Glover Incorporation of Perth*, ed. G. Wilson, (Perth, 1905), 13. For Hammermen see for e.g. NLS: MS 19239 Minute and Account Book, 1518-1744,, fos. 21r-v, 28r, 35v, 38r, passim. For Weavers see PKCA: MS Minute Book, 1671-1700 (Unregistered document), fos. 9v, 10r, 14v, passim. For Bakers see PKCA: MS92/1 Court Book, c1666-1782, fo. 10v.
[94] Football connections to Fastern's Eve: Hammermen: NLS: MS 19239, fos. 21r-v, 50v. Tailors: Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Tailor Incorporation of Perth, Unnumbered MS Minutebook, c.1530-1754, unfoliated, dates 7 April 1546, 21 February 1548; Mill, 11; *Extracts from the Records of the Guildry Incorporation of Perth, Glover, Shoemaker, Tailor and Perthshire Registers*, ed. R. S. Fillis (Perth, 1893), 185-6, 194, 200. Shoemakers: Mill, 11; Peter Baxter, *The Shoemaker Incorporation of Perth: 1545 to 1925* (Perth), p. 93. Wrights: NLS: MS 19288, fos. 48v, 52v, 54r. Weavers: *The Weaver Records &c.*, ed. R. S. Fittis, (Perth, 1888), 4-5, 16.

evidence for actual game play comes from a careful reading of the language used: the servants caused a 'divisioun' or quarrel among the masters resulting in violence. The entry goes on to blame certain servants as 'principall beginnaris and occatioun of the said divisioune' describing the ordeal as a 'gret appearance of skaith [damage] and sclauchter'. But though stirred by the younger men, it evidently included the masters as well, perhaps implying football play which got out of control. After fining the perpetrators a pound of wax towards the candles of the incorporation's altar of St Eloy, the masters made a further proclamation to avoid future violence:

> And for the eschewing of siklyke [suchlike] cummeris [troubles] in tym cuming the Craft hes ordenit that quhat servand or prenteiss of the said Craft that makis ony pley amangis them bot allenarlie [only] Shall treit uthir as brether bot ony maner of divisioune, als weill fyremenis servandis, saidlaris servandis, goldsmythis servandis, potteraris and pewteraris, without ony maner of divisioune, bot to be ane [one] as thai suld be.[95]

This call for unity during 'ony pley' among the servants of the different sciences of the incorporation suggests that football games were indeed on hand during Shrovetide, as they were in so many other places. It is not clear whether servants and apprentices were banned from attending them before this incident, but certainly after 1547, Fastern's Eve football was reserved only for brethren.

About twelve years later, John Knox's famous sermon in Perth, and the resultant iconoclastic riots, kicked off the Scottish Reformation in fiery fashion. From that day forward, Perth was at the heart of the reforming movement and soon became the seat of an archetypal kirk session. By the end of the sixteenth century, corporately sponsored seasonal events like the Corpus Christi play and the Baker Incorporation's procession on St. Obert's Eve were no more.[96] But while Margo Todd has illustrated that many popular seasonal pastimes persisted in seventeenth-century Perth despite the kirk elders' best efforts, the survival of Fastern's Eve ball remains anomalous in its continued civic patronage.[97] The minute books of the various trade incorporations record football payments until the early nineteenth century. To be sure,

[95] NLS: MS 19239, fo. 21r-v. For a printed transcription see *The Hammermen Book of Perth*, 1518-1568, ed. C. Hunt (Perth, 1889), 58-60.
[96] Todd, 197-199, 202.
[97] Todd, 197-211.

this does not mean that Fastern’s Eve football *play* survived that long as a customary game. Indeed, it seems it did not. Andrew Buist, a deacon of the Glover Incorporation, wrote a first-hand account on the state of the tradition around the end of the eighteenth century:

> But there is one very ancient amusement, the origin of which I cannot trace…and that is the ‘Foot-Ball’. How this game was played in former times we are not informed. Whether it was the bachelors of the Calling against the married brethren, or the Glovers against any of the other Crafts, is not known; but it is likely that the contest was among the members of our own calling, as a sum was levied on all the new married brethren to defray the expenses attending it, and which still forms part of the dues paid by these to the calling at the present day.[98]

Buist’s hypothesis that games were played between members of his Glover Incorporation lines up well with the Hammermen account of individual sciences playing against each other in 1547. Regardless, by his lifetime only the football due remained, as had apparently been the case for some time. When, then, did Fastern’s Eve football play cease in Perth? No definitive answer can be given, but there is ample reason to believe it continued until at least the end of the seventeenth century. Despite contemporary Reformation pressure, the Hammermen called for a ‘banket and football to be payt at fastrnevin’ in 1586, the Wrights collected footballs during Shrovetide in 1588, and the Tailors ordered their new freemen to provide a football at Fastern’s Eve in 1601.[99] By the 1670s, the Weavers, Shoemakers, and Tailors were still each meeting on Fastern’s Eve for the collection of footballs and this continued into the early decades of the eighteenth century. Shrovetide football in Perth thus likely died a slow death, the game gradually being phased out, as the riding was in Dublin, until only the customary due remained. Already in 1547, the custom was highly prescribed: only masters could participate, and it was seemingly self-contained within each trade incorporation. Like in Chester and Dublin, participation was exclusive to particular social ranks and identities, the custom was codified and enforced with institutional legislation, and it generated a degree of income for the respective organization. The Perth games also had ceremony and pomp. The presentation of footballs was always paired with a banquet, and the 1547 description of the masters ‘cuming fra thair banket under silence of the nycht’ may refer to some form of solemn procession. But

[98] G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836), 323.
[99] NLS: MS 19239, fo. 50v; MS 19288, fo. 48v; 52v, 54r; Mill, 11.

though all of the above were presumably implemented to regulate an unruly game, the bloody violence among the craftsmen of the Incorporation of Hammermen illustrates the difficulties inherent in trying to reconcile official condemnation with official support of festival football. The next case study presents another approach to this reconciliation, but one with less recourse to ceremony.

Carlisle: Silver Playgames vpon Shrovetewesdaie

Just south of the Scottish border and not far from the Irish Sea, Carlisle provides an example of Shrovetide football that was embraced outright by civic officials. Early modern Carlisle was characterized by its position as a key border stronghold within an otherwise sparsely populated county. Although its military significance lessened in 1603 with the unification of the crowns, the city still retained its garrison during the seventeenth century and was marred by sieges in the Civil War and later Jacobite eras. Governed by a mayor, eleven aldermen, and twenty-four capital citizens, by the seventeenth century there were also eight trade guilds in Carlisle, with the members playing important roles in the municipal government.[100] Nearly all of the accounts and records for these civic bodies date from the beginning of the seventeenth century or later, making it near impossible to assess the extent of the city's pageantry before the Reformation.[101] During the Stuart era, however, the mayor and aldermen supported a number of seasonal events, including fifth of November entertainments, a riding of the boundaries on Ascension Day, May horse races, and Midsummer wakes.[102] One festive tradition that can be reasonably dated to before the seventeenth century, however, is a Shrovetide event recorded frequently as the 'silver playgames'.

The traditional games first appear in Carlisle's chamberlains' accounts of 1602-3, when fifteen shillings and six pence were spent 'for silver playgames vpon Shrovetewesdaie'.[103] Two chamberlains were appointed yearly to carry out the financial operations of the civic government and evidence for the Shrovetide entertainments derives almost exclusively from their surviving accounts. As the oldest such account also bears the first record of the 'playgames', determining the age of the sports or their corporate patronage is difficult. One

[100] *REED: Cumberland*, 8-9.
[101] *REED: Cumberland*, 29-34.
[102] *REED: Cumberland*, 24-27.
[103] *REED: Cumberland*, 65.

additional contemporary source, however, does suggest that the Shrovetide customs, with or without explicit civic support, had been practiced for some years prior to the early seventeenth century. In a survey of royal lands in 1612, Anthony Curwen, native of Carlisle and agent of the crown, penned the following recollection of Shrovetide activities outside the city walls:

> Many old men and women about Karliell do well knowe and rememr. that all the grounds was one contynuse ground, and when I was a scholler at Karliell no hinderance to the footeball play nor to the essayes of running of naggs, men and women leaping dauncing &c. upon every Shrove Tuesday. [104]

Likely referring to late Elizabethan Carlisle, Curwen's recollections give a concise summary of some of the activities which made up the silvergames in his past. Chamberlain accounts show that some of these activities at least were still being enjoyed in the early seventeenth century, and that the city magistrates over time sponsored additional sports on Shrove Tuesday. One of these may have been a hammer toss, for in 1619 a 'hammer shaft' was repaired for the playgames. Payments for 'acock…&….makeing his pitts' and 'adoore for the gunners' were made in 1628, and both cockfighting and some form of shooting competition remained a part of the games throughout the 1630s.[105] Merchants from the city were often contracted by the mayor for the 'makeinge of the gaimes' and craftsmen made the materials.[106] Accompanying all this competition was a healthy dose of pageantry, with drummers, waits and pipers regularly providing music and perhaps prompting the leaping and dancing which Anthony Curwen so fondly recalled.[107] After watching the games, freemen of the city made their way back through the gates for a toast of sugared wine.[108]

The city sponsored the Shrovetide playgames in this way from 1603 (the start of accounts) until at least 1640. After this there is a two-year gap in the records, with no sign of the games when accounts resume in 1642-3. Unsurprisingly, the corporation had little time or funding for war-games in the face of genuine conflict. Initially a royalist stronghold, the city changed hands three times during the 1640s, suffering a particularly devasting siege and defeat by Scottish

[104] J. A. Wilson, 'Some Early Sporting Notes relating to Cumberland,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Ser. 1, 12 (1893), 188-205, at 195.
[105] *REED: Cumberland*, 90, 180, 115-6, 119, 121, 123
[106] City merchant Edward Dalton for e.g. supported the games in 1618, 1619, 1621, 1622, 1628, 1636, 1637. See *REED: Cumberland*, 25, 87, 90, 97, 101, 108, 119, 121.
[107] *REED: Cumberland*, 69, 71, 93-5, 97, 102, 106, 115-6, 121, 123, 124.
[108] *REED: Cumberland*, 93-5: 'Item in wine & sugar after the brethren came from the meadowe vs viij d'.

forces in 1644-5.[109] John Stedman's study of the city's economy during this period has highlighted the sheer extent of its physical, fiscal and personal loss during the war.[110] Perhaps then, it was a desire to reclaim civic pride which prompted the mayor of the formerly royalist city to send a 'football to the sands' on Shrove Tuesday 1656, contrary to Commonwealth bans on the sport.[111] The illegality of the action may explain why no similar payments surface in the remaining Interregnum accounts. After the Restoration, however, the playgames came roaring back. The city sponsored football on Shrove Tuesday regularly from 1661 through the end of the century and beyond. Payments usually did not extend beyond a paltry one shilling for the ball, but occasionally the games were more elaborate, as they had been before the Civil War. For example, in 1663 expenses on 'Shrovetewsday for the plaies' went towards a bar, paste board, door, cock, football, and the renumeration of musician William Heslop and a guard (**Fig. 8**).[112] In 1676 one Robert Jackson of Newcastle received reimbursement for 'the games, doore setting and railes setting for the football play'.[113] During the 1670s, the city introduced a separate round of football and cockfighting at Easter or early May, but apparently this did not last; from the 1680s onwards, official football was limited to Shrove Tuesday.[114] It remained a fixture of the civic calendar until 1726, when all record of it disappears from the chamberlain accounts.[115] Though it cannot be definitively proven, it appears the city substituted a more benign spectacle for the traditional ball game. Instead of the customary football, later accounts show February and March payments to men for 'playing' the city's new fire engine – a rather frigid-sounding Shrovetide entertainment that is nonetheless attested in some nearby Scottish communities of the early nineteenth century.[116]

[109] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'The City of Carlisle', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland* (London, 1816), 56-81. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/magna-britannia/vol4/pp56-81 [accessed 16 December 2018].
[110] J. O. Stedman, '"A Very Indifferent Small City" The Economy of Carlisle, 1550-1700', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1988), 136-9.
[111] CRO: CA/4/3, unfoliated but organized chronologically by account, 19 Feb. 1655-6.
[112] CRO: CA/4/3, 1 Mar. 1662-3.
[113] CRO: CA/4/3, Feb. 1675-6.
[114] See for e.g. CRO: CA/4/3, 9 April 1672, 3-5 May 1675-6, Easter Tuesday 1676-7.
[115] Periodic reference can be found to Shrove Tuesday football from 1661 to 1726. See of the February and March accounts the following chamberlain account books: CRO: CA/4/3; CA/4/4. The last known reference is CA/4/4, 1725-6, p. 5.
[116] Specifically, Kilmarnock in Ayrshire, where they also had a foot race on Fastern's Eve. See J. Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 167.

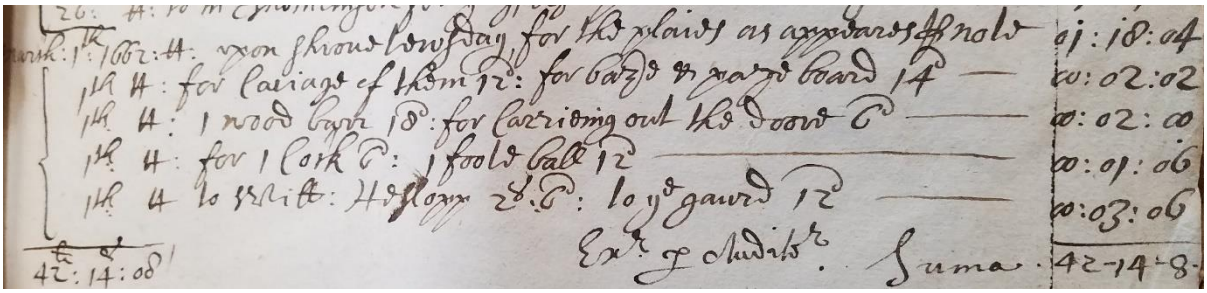


FIGURE 8 Carlisle chamberlain account expenses on ‘Shrovetewsday for the plaies’ in 1663, including payments for a football and a cock. CRO: CA/4/3, 1 Mar. 1662-3. Credit: Image reproduced with kind permission from Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle.

Though the silver playgames often included a wide range of entertainments, the annual football match was clearly its main event and most enduring element. Evidence of football in the region goes back as early as the fifteenth century, and in Carlisle as early as 1568, when the captive Mary Queen of Scots and her retinue enjoyed a match in the castle.[117] It is thus likely that the Shrovetide match was deeply rooted in local tradition. The rough game was played outside the city on the sands of the Swifts, a flat lowland on the south bank of the River Eden.[118] Payments for ‘a Boy that wonn the foote Boll’ in 1614, and a ‘ffooteball to yonge men vpon Shraffe tewsdav’ in 1615 suggest the players were principally youths and that the football was a prize, perhaps for scoring the winning goal. After 1628, payments increased to ‘2 foottballes’, implying perhaps two contests or a larger crowd on the Swifts.[119] Although one must allow for change over time, the sponsored ‘football for the country men’ in 1662 implies that the match was traditionally between town and country.[120] The annual football was itself furnished by shoemakers, and an entry in their contemporary guild memoranda book gives perhaps the best indication of Shrovetide football’s social significance:

> Item it is fully condiscended and agreed upon by the fellowship that no jorneyman or apprentice shall make any foot balle to sell or play withal without consent and knowledge of his or their maisters and that they shall not play at football within the liberties of this cittie upon paine everytime they shall do the contrary to forfeit to the comon box.[121]

[117] H. R. T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-sixteenth Centuries* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 25; Kendal: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, 1993), 677.
[118] *REED: Cumberland*, 25.
[119] *REED: Cumberland*, 76, 80-1,108.
[120] CRO: CA/4/3, 9 Feb. 1661-2.
[121] CRO: DGC 2/1, inconsistently foliated but on folio labelled both 13 and 7.

Like the Hammermen of Perth, the Carlisle Shoemakers tried to control who had access to footballs, who could play with them, and where and when. The guild and the city magistrates clearly continued to see value in the game itself since they kept sponsoring it into the eighteenth century. However, they also desired to circumscribe it. Shrovetide provided such an opportunity, when the game could be carefully initiated through approved channels and serve the interests of the city at large. Play took place in a designated area far from the streets of the city, avoiding potential disorder and property damage. Of course, whether this effectively served as a safety-valve for the rest of the year, and not just a social control on Shrove Tuesday itself, can be questioned based on the Shoemaker ordinance. Journeymen and apprentices were presumably pursuing football when they pleased, oblivious to the fact that all their steam was supposed to be released on Shrove Tuesday. In this way, the types of games pursued and the patronage networks which supported them were perhaps more advantageous to the city than any abstract and long-term social control.

Delivery of the footballs came from the mayor’s command alone, and the manufacture of the football was limited by ordinance to a master Shoemaker – both scenarios affirming authority and status. Other aspects of the silvergames were turned over to wealthy merchants, who presumably gained public prestige through furnishing the common profit of the city. The festive practices themselves suggest what Carlisle officials deemed to be a laudatory use of time, and Shrovetide’s efficacy therein. All the silvergames were of a definite bellicose persuasion, even involving active participation from the resident garrisons. It is difficult to deny an enduring need in Carlisle for martial courage, skill and vigour, when the seventeenth century was marked by war, border raids and outlawry for the community.[122] Gun shooting, the mock-warfare of football, and even cock-fighting, which as we have seen in the last chapter was held to instil martial courage in boys – all of these, if controlled, were profitable exercises in such a context and worthy of civic support. Our next and final case study combines the practical approach to Shrovetide football evident here with the ceremonial approach already seen.

[122] On this see Stedman, ‘“A Very Indifferent Small City”’; D. Lysons and S. Lysons, ‘The City of Carlisle’.

Chester: The Oulde Homages on Goodtides tewsedaye

The final urban case study takes us back down the coast of the Irish Sea to Chester, where this chapter began. As previously discussed, our knowledge of Shrove Tuesday ball games in the city begins and ends with Mayor Henry Gee's replacement of the sports with more 'profitable exercises' in 1540. Although the ball games were banned, the mayor maintained Shrovetide as a corporately sponsored festival 'for the publike recreation of the whole Citti there assembled', and preserved the 'oulde homages' of Shoemakers, Saddlers, and newlyweds to the Drapers' Company.[123] By connecting the ceremonies to athletic pursuits such as foot-racing, horse-racing, and archery, Mayor Gee avoided the disorderly risks of ball play while simultaneously promoting, in the words of David Rogers, 'most commendable practises of walike feates'.[124] This humanist reform of festival football proved remarkably successful: the replacement sports and incumbent ceremonies endured until around 1708, only lapsing briefly during the Civil War.[125] Records spanning over 150 years of Chester's history thus provide unparalleled insight into the corporate sponsorship of a premodern Shrovetide sporting tradition, and the shifting socio-political relations intimately woven within. [126] Chester's games are also perhaps unique in the sheer number of parallels to sponsored festival football elsewhere in Britain. Specifically, the joint participation of craftsmen, newlyweds and civic corporation links Chester's Shrovetide sports to each of the other urban case studies considered in this chapter. Examining the original football provisions and their reformed descendants should help gather together some of the threads pulled loose in the preceding case studies.

The origins of the Chester ball games and homages are obscure, but some plausible inferences can be drawn from the institutions involved and what is known of festival football elsewhere.

[123] *REED: Cheshire*, 330-331.
[124] *REED: Cheshire*, 331.
[125] Mills, 136; J. S. Barrow et al, 'Leisure and Culture: Chester Races', in A. T. Thacker and C. P. Lewis (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (London: Victoria County History, 2005), 255-260, *British History Online.* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp255-260 [accessed 15 December 2018].
[126] There are five main source groups surviving which record the reformed Shrovetide customs. The Shoemakers and Cordwainers' Company [hereafter just Shoemakers] accounts provide the most information. From the first extant company book of 1547, until the Civil War the craftsmen recorded their holiday expenditures with dependable regularity and detail. The city assembly's own treasury accounts frequently complement the Shoemakers', and occasional mayoral orders flesh out the bare-bones picture afforded by this concise economic data. The various copies of Roger's *Breviary* fill in some remaining gaps in our knowledge, particularly for the first half of the seventeenth century when the texts were being written and edited. Finally, the company books of the Drapers and the Saddlers, extant from 1637 and 1640 respectively, provide additional insight into the pre-and post-Civil War iterations of the tradition. On these *REED: Cheshire,* cxxv-cxxvi.

Confirmed in a royal charter of 1506, Chester's governing corporation was comprised of an assembly of twenty-four aldermen and forty councilmen who elected from among their number a mayor and two sheriffs annually. The assembly in turn was elected by the freemen of the town, generally members of craft guilds. By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, power was largely in the hands of the mayor and aldermen, offices usually held by wealthier merchants. [127] The Merchant Drapers' Company was particularly influential during this period: from 1380-1509, nine mayors and seventeen sheriffs came from the draper profession, while the company claimed twenty-eight mayoralties during the sixteenth century alone. Significantly, Mayor Henry Gee himself was a Draper, and here we can begin to see how the medieval pre-eminence of the company may have placed it at the centre of the Shrovetide homages.[128]

The editors of *REED: Cheshire* have offered that the homages to the Drapers possibly harkened back to when all three professions were part of the guild-merchant – Chester's major civic governing body in the Middle Ages before the formation of the assembly. They suggest that when the Shoemakers and Saddlers separated from the guild-merchant to form their own companies, the homages were instituted as 'token obligations' in recognition of the former relationship.[129] Certain elements of the later corporation, like the mayoralty, may have developed from antecedent structures in the guild-merchant, but it is not clear why the Drapers' Company should be considered representative of this rather than just one break-away institution among many. Nor does the theory explain why the Saddlers and Shoemakers were the only companies to offer homages, or how the newly married men factored in to all of this.[130] This interpretation prioritizes the homages as tokens of obligation first, and instruments of sport

[127] 'Later Medieval Chester 1230-1550: City Government and Politics, 1350-1550', in C. P. Lewis and A. T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography* (London: Victoria County History, 2003), 58-64. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp58-64 [accessed 15 December 2018].

[128] 'Later medieval Chester 1230-1550: Economy and society, 1350-1550', in C. P. Lewis and A. T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography* (London: Victoria County History, 2003), 64-80. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp64-80 [accessed 15 December 2018]. See also 'Mayors and Sheriffs 1415 – 1615', *Lord Mayor Chester Online*. http://lordmayorchester.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Mayor-ChesterMayors1414-1615.pdf

[129] *REED: Cheshire*, i. lxvii-lxviii.

[130] The REED editors suggest that the newlywed homages were a later addition: *REED: Cheshire*, i. lxviii.

second. In other words, it assumes the games were outgrowths or at least secondary to the symbolic ceremony, rather than the very cause and purpose of the homages in the first place.[131]

The pre-Reformation homages in Chester bear close resemblance to practices already observed elsewhere, where newlyweds and leatherworkers customarily provided Shrovetide footballs for communal play. The newlywed usually fronted the money (like in Perth), the leatherworker making the ball (like in Carlisle). The main difference here remains the Merchant Drapers: what was their purpose as mediators? Similar arrangements in other communities suggest some answers. In the 1570s and 1580s, for example, the burgh council of Glasgow paid a cordwainer yearly to provide footballs for the town at Fastern's Eve.[132] In 1590, the council made cordwainer Johnne Neill a 'burges and frieman' whose fines were remitted for 'furneissing yeirlie during his lyftyme vpoune Fastreinisewin of sex guid and sufficient fut ballis', thus turning a yearly informal exchange into a formal contract of mutual benefit.[133] Likewise, as we have seen above, responsibility for the Carlisle silvergames was frequently farmed out from the corporation to prominent merchants of the city, with the ball itself furnished by the shoemaker guild. In short, the Chester Shrove Tuesday homages appear ceremonial enactments of erstwhile practical exchanges to facilitate public play. The Drapers had the honour of sponsoring these sports, but collected marriage dues to do so on the one hand, and the requisite materials for it on the other (i.e. the football and Saddlers' ball). While the football and Saddler's ball may have been homages to a company of higher rank, the Shoemakers and Saddlers were paid back in full through feasting and hospitality.[134] The burden was (theoretically) distributed equally, but with due diligence to precedence never forgotten. This careful balancing act of reciprocity, all for the aim of common profit, can be more clearly seen in the reformed festive practices which continued for another century-and-a-half.

---

[131] This seems to be David Mills' view in *Recycling the Cycle*, 75. He wonders if the 'Shoemaker's homage was a further development' of the Saddlers' symbolic ball. According to Rogers, however, the Saddlers' ball was also played and not purely symbolic.

[132] For e.g. see Glasgow City Archives [GCA]: C1/1/1 Minute Book 19 Jan 1574- 12 May 1581, fo. 86r, 87v, 113v, 206v, 211r. Selections printed in 'Extracts from the Accounts: 1573-85', in *Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol. 1, 1573-1642,* ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1914), 447-473. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/glasgow-burgh-records/vol1/pp447-473 [accessed 28 March 2017].

[133] GCA: C1/1/3 Minute Book 22 Oct 1588- 31 July 1590, fos. 137r-v. Abstracted in 'Extracts from the Records: 1590', in *Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol. 1, 1573-1642,* ed. J D Marwick (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1914), 149-156. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/glasgow-burgh-records/vol1/pp149-156 [accessed 28 March 2017].

[134] This hierarchy is made clear enough in an undated order of precedence for the Midsummer Watch, written out in a seventeenth-century antiquarian manuscript. The Drapers were second in line, the Cordwainers thirteenth and the Saddlers twentieth: *REED: Cheshire,* ii. 856-7.

After the changes of 1540, Shrovetide homages were offered annually – without fail but not without controversy – until the Civil War. As we have seen in Dublin and Perth, it is important to distinguish ceremonial dues and homages from the practical activities they were originally meant to facilitate. Nonetheless, in this case plenty of evidence indicates that the sports, particularly the horse racing[135] and archery competitions[136] continued alongside the homages. Not only this, the Shrovetide games were popular enough to be the first municipal festivities restored after the turmoil of the 1640s. [137] As in Carlisle, they were also sponsored during at least part of the 1650s, thereby flying in the face of Cromwellian prohibitions against horseracing, cock-fighting and other 'unlawful assemblies'.[138] Maintained throughout the Restoration, their significance and worth was confirmed in a 1685 committee report concerning city orders and their suitability for continuance.[139] Though there were evidently some changes to the prizes, the festive practices remained largely the same.[140] Even as late as 1695, the Whig politician and Chester MP Roger Whitley wrote of a Shrove Tuesday Roodeye visit where 'they shot for the Gleaves ran for the Bell & for a peice of Plate'.[141] But despite the apparent continuity this longevity presents, Chester's early modern Shrovetide sports were played out within a delicate social ecosystem not immune to contestation and manipulation.

On the surface, the homages were deferential to the Drapers' Company, propagating civic hierarchy in the process. However, at best the homages were symbolic rather than economic

[135] For e.g. several iterations of the mayor's list record winners of the horserace, such as Sheriff David Mountforde, who in 1579 'dyd wynne the Standerd on the Roode Eye on Shrofte Tuesdaye'. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the city treasury accounts also periodically record payments 'for plaisteringe and Rushinge the gallery on shrovtusday', for 'taking up and settinge downe the pales at rood dee' and for 'setting up the pales after master Sheriffes whitbyes horse race'. For these and other e.g. see *REED: Cheshire*, i. 184, 294, 383, 393, 401, 415, 422-3, 431, 442, 444, 462, 468, ii. 504

[136] Rogers explains that the newlywed gleaves were given by the Drapers to 'those which did shoote the longest shoote with divars kyndes of arrows as ye flighte, ye brod arrow & the buttshafte'. In addition to his accounts, a few records directly reference the newlywed homages and the resultant archery competitions in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. See *REED: Cheshire*, 189, 330, 386.

[137] *REED: Cheshire*, i. lxxxii.

[138] CCLA: ZTAR/3/52 Treasurers' Account Rolls and Rentals, 1655-6, Memb. 1r. References to 'mending platts on the Roodee' on 19 February, and 'a Straw rope on Shrove tusiday and Rushes for pentice'.

[139] CCLA: ZAB/3 Assembly Book 1684-1724, fo. 4r: 'drapers to continue their potacions at Shrovetide with saddlers and shoemakers'. See also regular payments to prepare for the games from 1664-1708 in ZTAR/3/54, 55, 58A Treasurers' Account Rolls and Rentals, 1663-4, 1668-9, 1672 Jan-Oct; ZTAB/1 Treasurers' Account Books, 1683-99, fos. 3v, 15r, 21v, 31v, 33r, 40r, 48v, 56v, 59r, 65v, 75v, 83v-85r, 91v-92v, 93r, 99v; ZTAB/2 Treasurers' Account Books, 1703-14, 8r-v, 10r-v, 16v, 22r, 38v.

[140] At some point plate was substituted for one of the prizes, or perhaps another race added, for in 1674 a Sheriff Edwards was reimbursed 'for plate which he had provided for the races at Shrovetide and on St. George's day': CCLA: ZA/B/2 Assembly Book 1624-1685, fo. 178v.

[141] 'Roger Whitley's Diary: February 1695', in *Roger Whitley's Diary 1684-1697 Bodleian Library, Ms Eng Hist C 711*, ed. M. Stevens and H. Lewington ([s.l.], 2004), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/roger-whitley-diary/1684-97/february-1695 [accessed 8 October 2017].

capital; the Drapers immediately redistributed the physical objects of the homages to those winners who provided entertainment and added to the 'auncent fayme' of the city through their athletic prowess in the foot-race, horse race or archery competition.[142] In effect, the Drapers' only monetary gain came from the occasional fines levied against company men or newly married men who did not participate in the mandatory Shrovetide ceremonies. As in Dublin, the festive action was the thing of import, and the Drapers, like the Dublin assembly, were only entitled to recompense if someone did not uphold their side of the festive bargain. The original gain had been and presumably remained the honour (and good press) of sponsoring the Shrovetide sports, and thereby receiving the deferential public homages necessary to that end. In return the Drapers hosted the mayor, Shoemakers and Saddlers to drinking and feasting over three days in the Common Hall.[143]

The civic assembly attempted to maintain this balance throughout the Tudor, Stuart and Restoration periods. The city, for example, regularly subsidized the silver Saddlers' bell, presumably so it would not outweigh the less-costly Shoemakers' gleaves.[144] The assembly was also likely behind an early seventeenth-century Goldsmith Company ordinance. This strictly prescribed the silver-content of the newlywed 'brood Arrowes' to keep them evenly weighted, and also ordered all old arrows or gleaves which re-entered the market to be broken.[145] Presumably this last act prevented newly married men from shirking their fair share of responsibility through the purchase of old homages of lesser value. Beyond such regulation, the assembly furnished 'the publike recreation of the whole Citti' through periodic repairs to

[142] This much is clear from the original proclamation of 1540, which stipulated that each homage should pass as prizes from 'the Drapres & the mayre' to the winners of the foot-race, horserace and archery contests. Subsequent records show this stipulation in practice. In Roger's time the bell remained 'the rewarde for that horse which with speede running there shoulde runne before or overrunne all others'. The mayor's lists of notable bell-winners is also quite explicit on this count. In 1619, for example, John Ratclyffe, an alderman and justice of the peace, 'did wynne the race one the Roode dey and gate the silver bell worthelye'. The victors of the horserace presumably kept their prizes for posterity, or perhaps sold them on later for profit, for new bells had to be furnished annually, and a goldsmith by-law of 1612 clarified that 'all the oulde bells shalbe broke and not any of the Compeney to by any to be newe burnished'. Presumably the opportunity was there to purchase old bells from former winners: *REED: Cheshire*, i. 76, 329, 379, 444.

[143] As David Rogers summarised it in the 1609 copy of his Breviary: 'These exchanges of these homages, donne to the company of Drapers was as it semeth moderated on both sides by the wisdome of the Cittie. that both should haue theire due namly the homage done to the Drapers, and the benifitt thereof, should be for the publike recreation of the whole Citti there assembled, for which there wisdome is commended': *REED: Cheshire*, i. 330-1.

[144] For e.g. in 1591: 'Item to Rychard Bromley and Lawrence Warminsham stewardes of sadlers given by the Cittie towards there bell': *REED: Cheshire*, i. 234.

[145] *REED: Cheshire*, i. 386: The ordinance declared that each arrow should have a weight of eight pence in silver, and that with labour costs added an arrow should total no less than twelve pence. Any goldsmith found in 'denial of the premises' would be subject to a fine of the same price, payable to the alderman and stewards of the (goldsmith) company. A final stipulation ordered that 'all the gleves that the drapers shall Receive everie yeare by mariags shalbe broken'.

the Roodee race track, and yearly payments to musicians to play ‘upon the drome before master maior at shroftyde’.[146] Perhaps most importantly, however, the mayor and assembly served as arbitrators whenever the delicate balance of deference, obligation and mutual support governing the Shrovetide sports spun out of equilibrium.

Large conflicts were hardly frequent, arising only every forty years or so – apparently the time required for generational memory of proper practice to fade. When strife did occur, it was inevitably rooted either in a party’s failure to uphold their part of the festive network, or an improper ceremonial enactment of that part. In 1583, the Shoemakers and Saddlers quarrelled over order of precedence in the homage procession, with the former claiming their proper place had been usurped by the latter.[147] Grumbles started again in 1618, as Shoemakers and Saddlers complained of the Drapers’ poor hospitality at the Common Hall. The two craft companies united to bring their suit before the assembly in 1626, claiming the merchants had long been neglecting their proper duties.[148] Into each of these conflicts stepped the mayor and assembly, often resolving the dispute through consultation of the old assembly books, and appeals to Gee’s original proclamation. However, a closer look at the pertinent mayoral ordinances, as excerpted below in **Figure 9**, shows an intentional manipulation of festive custom during such occasions.

While Henry Gee’s 1540 changes brought Shrovetide play more firmly under assembly control, the mayoralty still performed a secondary role in the ceremony as overseer. Mayor William Stiles’ settlement of the 1583 dispute, however, flipped this order of precedence to make the mayoralty prime. In justification, Stiles claimed such had been the ‘true Meaninge of the saide former order’ all along. The 1626 settlement took things even further, adding multiple new processions in the mayor’s honour, fines for those Drapers, Shoemakers or Saddlers who did not attend them, and mandatory lists of company membership each Shrove Tuesday to facilitate the latter tax. At the rupture between tradition and practice, human agency adapted festive culture to prompt social change, in this case the symbolic and practical centralization of civic authority in the body of the mayor. Taking place over several generations and in very different historical contexts, this was hardly part of some coherent long-term mayoral strategy. It was, however, part of a process, as David Mills has put it, ‘of public and administrative reform in

[146] *REED: Cheshire*, i. 234.
[147] *REED: Cheshire*, i. 194-5.
[148] *REED: Cheshire*, i. 425, 434, ii. 489, 494-496, 499-500.

the city' which prompted a shift in focus from 'the companies to the community and in particular to the mayor as the embodiment of the government of that community'.[149]

Year	Shrove Tuesday Mayoral Proclamation Excerpt	Source
1540	…the said occupaczons of shoumacres…from hensforth shall yerlye vpon the said Teuesday geue and delyuer **Vnto the said Drapars Afore the mayre** of the Said Citie for the tyme being at the Said playce and tyme Syx gleaues of Siluer to the value of euery of them vj d., or Aboue to the order **at the discresion of the Drapars and the mayre** of the said citie for the tyme being…	*REED: Cheshire*, i. 75-6
1583	… where by the saide order, there is mencyoned, that all gleves, gifts, offerings and presentmentes made vppon the saide Roode dee, the saide Tewsday, shalbe **ordered by the saide drapers and Maior and so the Maior laste namyd**. It is nowe ordered, for dutie and desente order, That all suche Giftes, gleves, and presentementes shalbe ordered by **the Maior of the saide Cittie for the tyme beinge, and drapers**, Accordinge to the true Meaninge of the saide former order, And that the **Maior shalbe and ought of Right and dutie, to be fyrste namyd and recyted in respecte, of his aucthoritie, and governemente** (enye thinge in the saide former order Contayned, to the Contrary therof in eny wise not withstanndinge./	*REED: Cheshire*, i. 195.
1626	That the Aldermen and Stewards both of the company of Shomakers and Sadlers and euery member of the said Companyes shall accordingely vpon euery Shrovetuesday foreuer doe theire said **homage vnto the Maior for the time beinge in giueinge theire Attendance vpon him orderly and decently in theire gownes from the Pentice to the Roodee** and thence back againe to the Common Hall And likewise **vpon the two dayes followinge shall giue theire Attendance vpon Master Maior for the time beinge decently in theire gownes from the Pentice to the Common Hall** and thence back againe to the said Pentice vpon payne of tenn shillinges to the Treasureres for the vse of the Citty by euery person absentinge himselfe… And it is further ordered that the said Aldermen and Stewards…shall vpon Shrovetuesday morninge next and soe Yearely foreuer afterwards **Deliuer vnto the Maior for the time beinge in writeinge the names and Sarnames of euery particuler person free of theire said Companyes** vpon payne of forfeiture of the same of tenn Shillings to and for the vse of the said Citty & to bee levyed as aforesaid.	*REED: Cheshire*, ii. 494-5.

FIGURE 9 Table comparing the wording and orders of mayoral proclamations pertaining to the Chester Shrovetide sports 1540-1626. Pertinent phrases in bold. Note the shift in mayoral precedence between 1540 and 1583, and the addition of more ceremonial processions and responsibilities to the mayor in 1626.

One last example of conflict suggests some contemporaries neither appreciated nor agreed with the mayor's position as the 'quintessence of the community', and indeed resented his claims

[149] Mills, 78.

over festive tradition. In 1581, the mayor and assembly postponed the Shrovetide homages and sports to the next Sunday, for reasons unknown. On Shrove Tuesday itself, a man named Drinkwater, manservant to a local gentleman, burst into the civic assembly and demanded that the mayor give him his two gains for 'the brode Arrow and fflight', these being two of the traditional archery competitions. As an entry in the mayor's book relates, though the prizes were yet 'unshot for' the manservant claimed that 'this was the daie…the maior cold not differ the tyme and that the maior did him wrong… if he wold not deliver unto him the said ii gaines'.[150] Offering a rare, albeit somewhat bizarre perspective on the games from outside the companies and assembly, the altercation suggests Drinkwater considered the longstanding Shrovetide recreations a public customary right and resented the mayor's pretensions over them. Like some of the food customs discussed in the last chapter, the Shrovetide sports belonged to the commonality, and despite what the assembly might think, the mayor was not its embodiment. But as David Mills has pointed out, a certain Mr Stiles was in the assembly that day, and he almost certainly did not agree with Drinkwater's 'presumpteous and disobedient words'.[151] Two years later, he became mayor and made use of the Shoemakers and Saddlers' dispute over precedence to shape the Shrovetide customs into even more overt manifestations of mayoral authority.

By the end of the seventeenth century, assembly admonishments and fines levied on the Drapers for 'not attending Master Mayor on Shrovetuesday' and neglecting the 'Lawdable immemoriall Customs of this Citty' illustrate how far the Shrovetide tradition had developed into an emblem of the mayoralty and an unwanted drain on the Drapers.[152] As early as the Jacobean period, David Rogers had remarked that the three days of reciprocal feasting were 'indeede to the greate Charge of the said Worshipfull Companye of drapers'.[153] For a company far removed from its late medieval civic pre-eminence, the homages and games had become a far greater economic burden than they remained a symbolic benefit.[154] Unsurprisingly, in 1706 Edward Puleston, the first Draper to be mayor in decades, had the Shrovetide horse race quietly

[150] *REED: Cheshire*, 189.
[151] Mills, 77.
[152] For e.g. in 1685, 1691, 1698: CCLA: ZAB/32, fos. 4r, 9v, 62r
[153] *REED: Cheshire*, i. 483. This is from the c.1624 copy of the Breviary, tellingly the same period when the Shoemakers and Saddlers were complaining of the Drapers' flagging hospitality.
[154] The Drapers' decline in influence can be glimpsed by comparing the mayoralties of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Over the former century they held the office twenty-eight times, over the latter only four times. See 'Mayors and Sheriffs 1415 – 1615', *Lord Mayor Chester Online*. http://lordmayorchester.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Mayor-ChesterMayors1414-1615.pdf ; 'Mayors and Sheriffs 1615 – 1815', *Lord Mayor Chester Online*. http://lordmayorchester.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Mayor-mayors1615.pdf

rolled into the more popular St George's Day race.[155] Although this continued as a civic-sponsored event (indeed surviving to this day) the latter festivity's funding was distributed more evenly across all civic bodies.[156] It was no longer the sole responsibility or privilege of individual companies to underwrite the common profit.

Of Shoemakers and Brides: The Civic Efficacy of Shrovetide Football

The urban case studies examined thus far demonstrate that civic institutions variously maintained, adapted and manipulated traditions of Shrovetide sport and pageantry for concerted ends during the medieval and early modern periods. But they also display strikingly similar specific characteristics over different times and places (summarised in **Fig. 10**), prompting the question: just how far did the festive social efficacy visible in such examples derive from the specific frame of Shrovetide? Building on some of the discussions started in Chapter 1, this final section interrogates the extent to which Shrovetide ball games were set apart from others, and how this differentiation may have contributed to the social usefulness civic institutions evidently saw in them.

	Ball Game	Due/ Homage	P/C	Guilds	Married Men	Civic Gov.	Banquet	Music/ Spectacle
London	x	x		x	x		x	
Dublin		x	x	x	x	x		x
Perth	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Carlisle	x			x		x	x	x
Chester	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Corfe Castle	x	x	x	x	x			x
Glasgow	x	x		x		x		x
Jedburgh	x			x				
Duns	x			x		x		x

FIGURE 10 Table showing known parallels between Shrovetide civic ball games, ceremonies and pageantry: what happened, how it was facilitated, who sponsored it. P/C = involved procession/ceremony. Civic Gov.= civic corporation or other governing body.

[155] In 1706 the Shrovetide race and St George's race were both moved to Easter Tuesday, but in March 1708, after preparations were made for the Shrovetide race on its traditional date, the Easter Tuesday races were officially moved to St George's Day, where they stayed. The 1708 preparations provide the last evidence of the Shrovetide sports. See CCLA: ZAB/3, fos. 140v, 158v-159r.

[156] On the St George's Day horse race, instituted in 1610 and still going to this day as the Chester Racecourse May Festival (essentially Old St George's Day after the 1752 calendar shift forward), see J. S. Barrow et al, 'Leisure and Culture: Chester Races', 255-260.

While Shrovetide sport and pageantry, like other seasonal festivity, could bring communities economic stimulus from tourism and trade, it did not stand out as a particularly effective fundraising event.[157] Indeed, Shrovetide football seems to have had very little to do with public fundraising in the traditional sense, at least when compared to other sponsored festive activities like church ales or hocktide bindings. The latter customs enlisted festivity to help pay for church repairs or parish hall constructions; in other words, they resulted in long-term material benefits.[158] In contrast, money raised at Shrovetide ball games almost invariably went towards those ball games and nothing else. Apparently, the festive custom was an end in itself worth funding. But if there was a deemphasis on fundraising, there was, paradoxically, almost an obsession with the monetary value of football play, or as David Rogers would have it, the 'profitability' and sustainability of Shrovetide sports and pageantry. The value was in the festive action, and the obsession concentrated on whose obligation it was to enable that action. As seen throughout this chapter, that burden often fell on newly married men, and here the significance of Shrovetide's performative frame starts to become plain.

Records show three key links between weddings and premodern football. Firstly, from as early as the London proclamation of 1409, people justified collecting money for football 'because of marriages…recently taken place'.[159] Apparent from the various newlywed dues studied above, such extracting tendencies were not limited to medieval London. Secondly, football matches were occasionally contested between bachelors and married men, although this is not recorded with any frequency until the latter half of the eighteenth century.[160] Finally, and more generally,

[157] It seems clear that Shrovetide civic events did attract crowds and tourism. For example, Dublin attempted to protect visitors coming to the city for the Riding of Corperaunt in 1466, while Roger Whitley's visit to the Chester Shrovetide games in 1695 shows similar tourist interest. Corporations seem to have recognized this money-making potential, often hiring musicians and other entertainers on Shrove Tuesday, like the waits and pipers of Carlisle, the drummers of Chester or Duns, or 'ane fule with the treyn suerd' in Glasgow. For references to these see sections above. For Duns and Glasgow see Hornby, 22; GCA: C1/1/1, 113v

[158] On festive customs as fundraising endeavours see for e.g. S. Maclean, 'Hocktide: A Reassessment of a Popular Pre-Reformation Festival', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 233-41; R. Hutton, 'Seasonal Festivity in Late Medieval England: Some Further Reflections', *English Historical Review*, 120 (2005), 66-79; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 59.

[159] 'Memorials: 1409', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Longman, Greens, 1868), 570-576. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp570-576 [accessed 6 April 2017].

[160] For a list of examples see Robertson, 223-7. An earlier reference to this traditional division of teams can be found in a Jacobean play. When Sir Goosecap is asked why he wishes to marry: 'Why madam we haue a great match at foot-ball towards, married men against batchellers, & the married men be al my friends, so I wood faine marrie to take the married mens parts in truth': George Champion, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight A comedie* (London, 1606), sig. H3r.

football was a popular celebratory activity enjoyed after weddings and baptisms.[161] While the latter circumstance naturally arose whenever a wedding took place, the first two connections were closely, though not exclusively, bound to Shrovetide. In addition to the obvious Shrovetide association represented in the football dues, annual match-ups between bachelors and married men almost invariably took place at Shrovetide, rather than Christmas or Easter.[162]

How and why did this connection develop? We cannot say for sure, but just as Shrove Tuesday's association with warfare likely developed from its intersecting placement at the end of the winter season of mock-warfare, at the beginning of the real campaigning season, and on the cusp of Lent (when violence was prohibited, or at least frowned upon), so too did the marriage-football-Shrovetide axis likely arise from long-term seasonal synchronicity. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, post-Reformation registration records show that Shrovetide stood at the end of an intense and brief season of marriage squeezed between Advent and Lent (i.e. the coupling season). It was also at the end of a longer post-harvest winter wedding season that stretched from around October to February, with a gap for Advent in December. Indeed, English marriage rate indexes for the period 1540-99 show that on average nearly half of all marriages in a year took place in the four months of October, November, January and February.[163] As discussed above, these months also represented peak football season, and we can begin to see how the two winter practices may have gradually paired together. Even though Shrovetide fell during the prohibited period for marriages, which technically started on Septuagesima (i.e. two weeks before Shrovetide), anecdotal and statistical evidence shows that it was one of the most popular days to wed.[164] People were either ignorant of the prohibition,

[161] For e.g., Richard Carew explained that Cornish hurling was often contested at wedding celebrations: Hornby,139. Football was also common at bridals in Reformation (and presumably pre-Reformation) Scotland, so much so that the parishioners in the Presbytery of Dalkeith petitioned the kirk to allow them, to no avail: J. B. Nugent, 'Marriage Matters: Evidence from the Kirk Session Records of Scotland, c.1560-1650' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Guelph, 2004), 246; Burnett, 88-91.

[162] For example, annual Shrove Tuesday matches in Scone, Inveresk, Alnwick, Wooler, Melrose, Duns, Denholm and Kirk Yetholm. One exception would be Morebattle, in the Scottish Borders, where married men and bachelors traditionally played on New Year's Day. See Robertson, 223, 330.

[163] There were, of course, regional variations in these patterns, usually dependant on farming type. Strikingly, February was the most popular month for marriages in several parishes along the western border of England, near communities examined in this study known to have Shrovetide ball game customs involving newlyweds. See E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold for the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 1981), 298-305.

[164] For example, the first surviving parish register for Dublin, St John the Evangelist in 1619/20, records four marriages during February 1620 (a high monthly total for that year), with one on Shrove Sunday, two on Shrove Monday and one on Shrove Tuesday: *The Registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin: 1619 to 1699*, ed. J. Mills (Dublin: Printed for the Parish Register Society of Dublin by A. Thom & Co, 1906). For statistical evidence for the seventeenth century see J. Boulton, 'Economy of Time? Wedding Days and the Working Week in the past', *Local Population Studies* 43 (1989), 28-46, at 40.

wilfully ignored it, or purchased dispensation to wed and bed before such actions were forbidden during Lent. Conception and marriage rates suggest people continued to take the prohibitions of the latter season quite seriously well into the eighteenth century.[165] Various British printed texts of the seventeenth century point towards the festival's association with sex and marriage, but the following cheeky passage from a letter penned in 1685 should suffice as an example:

> Thy dear Sister is to be Married on Shrove-Tuesday, and at Night to be laid upon her back as flat as a Pancake, and no doubt will give and receive a curious time on't.[166]

Significantly, the Shrovetide newlywed footballs and ceremonies transcended such general associations. It was not just that weddings were common during the Carnival season; in these English, Irish and Scottish communities, Shrove Tuesday *epitomised* marriage. The two were synonymous in the popular imagination, so much so that, as discussed in the previous chapter, Baron Coleraine deemed one of the psalms in his English translation of the Songs of Degrees to be fit 'For Shrove Tuesday or a Wedding'.[167] It seems collective social practice gradually invested the day and festival itself with symbolic efficacy, so that actions and ceremonies performed upon it communicated the very concept of marriage and its consequences – transition in sexual status, ascendance in social position, and all the obligations which came with these changes. Fittingly, it was the football, also emblematic of Shrove Tuesday, which came to stand for the latter obligations owed to the wider community. In summary, weddings and football were commonly enjoyed in winter, often together. During Shrovetide, the last winter festival, weddings were common, football was common, and the two were often merged during Carnival time to express and reproduce its dual characteristics – love and war.

The highly ceremonial football dues and homages discussed so far belonged to a wider family of folk practices known variously as 'ball money', 'ba' money', or 'ba' siller'. Though there

---

[165] In his study of the prohibited seasons of marriage in post-Reformation England, David Cressy lists several examples of couples being penalized for marrying during forbidden times. In some cases it was the minister was ignorant of the rule. Suggestively, almost all of these examples he uses refer to Shrovetide weddings. See D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), 298-305.

[166] Sir W. Knox, *Thursday noon, being Feb. (26) 84/85 My dearest soul, Thou only preserver of my life…: Letter to his Mistress in the Country.* (London, 1689), 2.

[167] Hugh Hare, Baron Coleraine, *La scala santa, or, A scale of devotions musical and gradual being descants on the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, in metre: with contemplations and collects upon them, in prose, 1670* (London, 1681), 35-40.

were many variations, most only attested from the nineteenth century, the custom generally involved a new bride or bridegroom, on or after the day of marriage, supplying the local boys or men of the community with a football, or money to purchase one.[168] In his *English Dictionary*, published in 1677, Elisha Coles stated that the money was 'given by a new bride to her old Play-fellows'.[169] A session book of St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, Orkney likewise stipulated in December 1684 that 'non in toun and paroch that marries but shall pay a foot-ball to the scholers of the grammour school'. [170] These informal or lightly institutionalized practices, all sounding strikingly similar to those which must have prompted the fifteenth-century London prohibition on football silver, sat at one end of a spectrum. At the other end lay the highly ceremonial Shrove Tuesday ball presentations of the freemen of Dublin and Chester. Falling somewhere in the middle were the football dues of the individual trade incorporations in Perth, and the Freeman Marblers' Company of Corfe Castle, Dorset. The latter company met every Shrove Tuesday, and in 1551 re-confirmed an old by-law ordering that each freeman 'after his marriage shall paie unto the wardings for the use and benefit of the Company twelve pence and the last married man to bring a footbale according to custome of our Company'.[171]

For the Freemen Marblers, the football equated with the 'use and benefit of the Company'. In Dublin, the fine paid in lieu of ball bearing was ear-marked specifically for 'the town workys whare that hit ys most nedefull'. In Chester, the married men's homages facilitated the 'publike recreation of the whole Citti' while fines levied in dereliction of this duty went towards 'the use of the said Citty'.[172] The underlying rationale here was that the act of marriage conveyed a potential burden upon a community, be it a parish, guild or city freedom. Presumably, if the married man were to die, the community would be responsible for his widow and any orphans. In return for this potential risk, a one-time payment would be needed. This explains why the Chester Drapers' Company did not feast the married men in exchange for their homages, like

[168] 'Ba'-money *n.*', in *Dictionary of the Scots Language Online* (Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004) http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/bamoney [accessed 14 January 2019]. 'Ba-siller *n.*', in *Dictionary of the Scots Language Online* (Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004) http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/basiller [accessed 14 January 2019]. 'Ball-money, *n*', in *OED Online*, (OUP, 2018) www.oed.com/view/Entry/14903 [accessed 14 January 2019].

[169] Elisha Coles, *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other artsand sciences* (London, 1677), sig. D3r.
[170] As quoted in Hornby, 43.
[171] As quoted in Magoun, 104-5. The order was reconfirmed in 1655 and 1698.
[172] *CARD*, i. 290; *REED: Cheshire*, ii. 494-5.

they did the Shoemakers and Saddlers: the married men were already effectively receiving a life insurance policy from the city freedom in return for their homages. Later accounts of the football dues of Corfe Castle and Perth, communities where the custom survived the longest, support this interpretation.[173] According to O. W. Farrer, writing in 1856, the recently married Freeman Marbler paid his marriage shilling or football 'in acknowledgement of the right, in case of his death, of his widow to have an apprentice to work for her'.[174] Likewise, in 1830 an article from the *Perthshire Advertiser* queried: 'If the widow be poor, has she not a right to the funds? or why does her husband pay what is called a foot-ball? is not this regarded as his wife's entry-money?'.[175] Thus, in this pension scheme, football play was equated with life itself and, certainly, the various corporations and guilds did not take such an obligation lightly. A freeman's failure to supply sport, whether real or symbolic, could result variously in fines, imprisonment, or having his 'shop shut up till payment'.[176] In this way, Shrove Tuesday brought to the fore a set of seasonally-anchored folk symbols and practices which civic institutions tapped into, codified and adapted for public profit, reciprocal exchange, and legal obligation.

While some men provided for the 'Common wealth' through a public acknowledgement of their changed marital status on Shrove Tuesday, nearly all sponsors of these sports and ceremonies affirmed their civic status and trade identities on the occasion. Officially-sanctioned Shrovetide football was open to younger or lower ranking individuals in some places like Carlisle or Chester, but it was clearly freemen who held the honour and responsibility of facilitating play. Indeed, in some cases football play was reserved for the latter privileged position. Some late medieval football prohibitions, for example, only banned men below a certain rank from playing, while in sixteenth-century Perth apprentices and servants were similarly excluded from Fastern's Eve play.[177] Where newlyweds provided the ball or

[173] Members of Perth trade incorporations were still paying football dues in the nineteenth century, while the Marblers' Company has sustained both the due and a ceremonial Shrove Tuesday football game down to the present day in Corfe Castle.
[174] O. W. Farrer, 'The Marblers of Purbeck', *Papers Read before the Purbeck Society* (Wareham, 1859-60), 192-7, quote at 194.
[175] Quoted in the entry for 'Football *n.*', *Dictionary of the Scots Language Online* (Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004) http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/snds3125 [accessed 14 January 2019]. Similarly, in writing on the origins of the customary due at the end of the eighteenth century, Deacon Andrew Buist of the Perth Glover Incorporation called it the 'Wife's Foot-Ball', theorizing that it had been 'given in name of the bride, either as her entry money, or as a marriage gift to the brethren, that they might enjoy themselves on that occasion': G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836), 323.
[176] NLS: MS 19288 Incorporation of Wrights Minute and Account Book, 1519, 1528-1621, fo. 13r.
[177] See Figure 5 for examples.

funding, such freemen were naturally transitioning to a more established, respected position within the freedom, again suggesting a relationship between status and the sport. But even in communities like Carlisle or Glasgow, where marriage was not a factor and play less ceremonial, journeymen and apprentices were barred from making or providing the ball, with that privilege going to master shoemakers and burgesses. While partly a social control, civic institutions were not necessarily 'appropriating' outside folk practices for the sole purpose of preventing disorder. Instead, at least in some communities, it appears these old customs were grandfathered into institutions which themselves developed out of 'the folk' over the *longue durée*. As already pointed out, elder citizens and tradesmen of Fitzstephen's twelfth-century London were already supporting Shrovetide football before most of the recognizable guilds and corporate institutions of the city had coalesced. It is possible that support and/or play of the sport was deeply engrained in the membership of such civic institutions and by extension free status. Although manifested in the football dues already discussed, an example from fifteenth-century County Durham suggests this relationship even more explicitly. When the freeborn status of John Oll, prior of Coldingham was challenged in 1446, an elderly Peter Bireley submitted one argument defending the prior's rank in a deposition: he remembered Oll 'playing football at Helmington Row, *a game for the better valets of the barony and free men*'.[178]

This association between sport and freedom may have partly derived, at least in urban contexts, from the ubiquitous involvement of craftsmen as both football players and facilitators. While such participation was not limited to festivals, during Shrovetide the guilds took centre-stage. As seen above, different crafts played against each other in medieval London and early Tudor Chester, while in Dublin each trade processed through the city in the ball bearing ceremony. In Perth, football play seems to have occurred between the sciences of individual trade incorporations, while the marblers of Corfe Castle shared their football (sometimes unwittingly) with other townsfolk. When football was officially prohibited by royal or city authority, it was often craftsmen who breached this law on Shrove Tuesday, like the London pelters and tailors of 1373 or the tapicers of 1409. When the Town Council of Jedburgh

[178] Quoted from the abstracted translation in 'Durham Cathedral Muniments: Locelli, IX: 68', in *Durham Cathedral Muniments: Catalogue of Locelli: 1087-1606* (Durham, Durham University Library, 2014), 377 http://endure.dur.ac.uk:8080/fedora/objects/UkDhU:EADCatalogue.0085/datastreams/PDF/content; Copy of original deposition printed in Latin in *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Gaufridus e Coldingham, Robertus de Graystanes, et Willielmus de Chambre* (Surtees Society, 9; Edinburgh: Laing and Forbes, 1839), cclxxx.

attempted to ban the 'tossing and throwing up of the football at Fasternse'en within the streets' in 1704, members of the Fleshers' Corporation were the culprits who defied these orders.[179]

The shoemaker or cordwainer was emblematic of the artisan's central role in Shrovetide football, for he and other leatherworkers usually made the ball. The trade was directly involved with Shrovetide games in London, Chester, Glasgow, and Carlisle. Indeed, shoemakers still furnish footballs for some festival matches in Britain today.[180] In some instances, the trade exerted a sort of unofficial ownership over the game. For example, in 1724 when the bailee of Duns tried confiscating the burgh drum used to summon townsfolk to the traditional football match on Fasting's Even, it was William Home the shoemaker who led a riotous assault to retrieve it from the magistrate's house.[181] On levels both symbolic and practical, the shoemaker helped create Carnival out of its most fundamental parts, combining pig's bladder and cow leather – by-products of Shrovetide slaughter – into a quintessential object of the day's play. It should come as no surprise then that Thomas Deloney and Thomas Dekker made Shrove Tuesday synonymous with the 'gentle craft' in their late Elizabethan works.[182] In a broader sense, however, the shoemaker was the archetypal artisan- a civic plebeian invested with the quiet dignity and pride of a 'mistery' or skill. As argued in the last chapter, Shrove Tuesday was the 'worker's holiday' and thus a prime vehicle for the celebration of cross-trade identity (and rivalries), manifested in annual company meetings, football matches, ceremonies and processions on the day. For these reasons among others, civic institutions deemed it a festive occasion worth preserving.

Conclusions

Alongside feasting, football is the oldest continuously practiced Shrovetide tradition in Britain, recorded as early as c.1170 in London and still played in some communities to this day. From the outset, football sometimes enjoyed toleration and/or sponsorship from local authorities as a worthwhile and entertaining test of agility, strength and courage. Starting in the early fourteenth century, however, official prohibitions condemned the sport as a violent and disorderly waste of time. Although informed by changes in social values and ideas of civility

[179] Hornby, 114.
[180] See for e.g. Hornby, 46.
[181] Hornby, 22.
[182] These are Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* and Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*, both discussed at the outset of Chapter 1.

in the early modern period, this ideological conflict over the worthiness of recreation remained at the heart of football patronage. Was it a vain and dangerous game or a profitable exercise worth the violence? In answering the latter, institutions and individuals maintained, adapted or discarded their sponsorship of festive football, with examples found throughout the premodern era.

As with many festive customs, sponsored Shrovetide football endured longest in rural villages and small towns, lasting in some cases well into the nineteenth century as a straightforward game with some attendant pageantry. In larger urban areas, however, official support was more contested and complicated. Responses ranged from continued support through carefully mediated channels (e.g.in Carlisle or Glasgow), reformation of football into less violent and more manageable sports or spectacles (e.g. in Chester, eighteenth-century Carlisle), rejection and outright prohibition of the ball game (e.g. in London), and circumscription of the sport with ceremony and pageantry, usually with the game itself eventually disappearing (e.g. in Dublin and Perth). Official rejection of Shrovetide football usually occurred as cities became larger and more urbanised (e.g. in late medieval London), while support continued longest in smaller cities (e.g. Carlisle and Glasgow). By the eighteenth century, officially sanctioned or tolerated Shrovetide ball games were mostly limited to villages and smaller towns, suggesting urbanisation as the primary culprit for its disappearance in more densely populated areas.

The ‘ceremonialization’ of the Shrovetide ball game, however, took place in all manner of communities, ranging in size from the major city of Dublin to the small village of Corfe Castle, Dorset. These ceremonies probably developed out of folk customs of ‘ball money’, where newlyweds supplied a football to local boys or men, presumably as a good-natured exchange for the potential ‘risk’ a new marriage conferred upon a community. By the late medieval or Tudor period these folk practices had been institutionalized or imported as ‘marriage dues’ into certain civic institutions like individual trade guilds (e.g. in Perth or Corfe Castle), or governing bodies of freemen (e.g. Dublin and Chester). Gradually, most of these ceremonies ceased to facilitate ball games as such, but many retained other festive actions such as banquets, public pageantry, or different sports through most of the early modern period. By the eighteenth century, however, almost all had either disappeared or devolved into simple monetary dues.

The ceremonies point towards the advantages Shrovetide football may have conveyed, and the reasons why institutions kept some form or vestige of it. The festival was an opportunity to

advance civic common profit through controlled recreations which entertained a community but also fostered its warlike readiness. Gradually, and certainly by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, controlling the disorder at the heart of the sport became increasingly important to guildsmen and magistrates. Nonetheless, many guild by-laws and assembly ordinances still preserved the idea that there was an intrinsic value to Shrovetide football, and that it was worth maintaining in some manner through reform or ceremonial. In part it provided a designated outlet for youthful energy and aggression, but its efficacy moved beyond social control. Shrovetide games and ceremonies publicly displayed and affirmed the status and masculinity of those who played them or underwrote their cost: craftsmen, married men, and freemen.

While football was played at other times and sometimes sponsored at other festivals, Shrovetide stood apart by epitomising the militaristic nature of the game and tying it symbolically to the act and consequences of matrimony. Particularly visible in the customary dues of newlyweds, Shrovetide football represented the privilege of civic or guild freedom and the duty to provide for the common profit which came with it. Indeed, it became emblematic of such identities, privileges and duties: it was a ‘game for free men’ played on the shoemaker’s holiday. At times this social efficacy could also be appropriated for political gain, as seen in Chester when mayors intervened in conflicts to move their office to the symbolic centre of the Shrovetide pageantry, expanding the mayoralty’s powers and equating it with the common wealth the games facilitated. In such ways the potential social and political advantages of Shrovetide ball games contributed to their adaptation and preservation over the *longue durée*. The next chapter investigates the potential political efficacy of Shrovetide further, retaining a focus on pageantry and sport, but shifting contexts to the royal court.

CHAPTER 3

TIME OF REVELS & RULERSHIP
Shrovetide Court Spectacles, Seasonality and Shaping Princely Images

> This yere the second of Marche [Shrove Sunday] certain noble men of the Empire arriued in Englande…and in honor of them greate justes and triumphes wer made.
>
> - Greenwich, 1522 (Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548)[1]

In early 1522 Charles V sent imperial ambassadors to the English court to negotiate a peace treaty and new military alliance against France. Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey chose Shrovetide (March 2-4) as the occasion to entertain the dignitaries with an array of spectacle, described in meticulous detail by the contemporary chronicler Edward Hall.[2] On Shrove Sunday the king and the Duke of Suffolk led respective teams of gentlemen in a joust, each participant's *impresa* expressing a variation on a 'pain of love' theme. The motto embroidered on Henry's barding read 'she hath wounded my harte' in French under a series of golden letter 'L's'. In the ensuing contest many spears were broken, 'whiche the straungiers highly commended'. [3] The next day Cardinal Wolsely hosted a 'great and costly banket, and after that, a plaie and a Maske' at York Place. The cardinal's palace was again the site of celebrations on

[1] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London: G. Woodfall, 1809), 630.
[2] Yeoman of the Revels Richard Gibson's accounts for these spectacles also survive in TNA: SP 1/29, fos. 223-8. On Edward Hall see P. Herman, 'Hall, Edward (1497–1547), lawyer and historian', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, January 2012 (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11954. On the treatment of revels in his chronicle see J. Dillon (ed.), *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 2002).
[3] Hall, 630-1. Materials and preparations for the joust listed in TNA, SP 1/29, fos. 223-8. For discussion of these and other practical preparations for the 1522 Shrovetide spectacles see W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Studies in Early English Drama, 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 111-113.

Shrove Tuesday night, when the festival concluded with a supper in the hall and a disguising centred around a pageant castle called the *Schatew Vert*. Inside this fortress eight ‘ladies of straunge names’ such as Beauty, Honour, Mercy and Pity were imprisoned. These non-speaking roles were played by Henry’s sister Mary, newcomer to the court Anne Boleyn, and other ladies. Defending the castle were a further eight women, played by Children of the Chapel and disguised as vices like Danger, Disdain and Scorn. The principal action of the disguising was an assault on the castle and rescue of the captive ladies, led by lords disguised as knightly virtues:

> Then entered eight Lordes […] named, Amorus, Noblenes, Youthe, Attendaunce Loyaltie, Pleasure, Gentlenes, and Libertie, the kyng was chief of this compaignie, this compaignie was led by one all in crimosin sattin with burnyng flames of gold, called Ardent Desire, whiche so moued the Ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but Scorne and Disdain saied thei would holde the place, then Desire saied the ladies should be wonne· and came and encoraged the knightes, then the lordes ranne to the castle, (at whiche tyme without was shot a greate peale of gunnes) and the ladies defended the castle with Rose water and Comfirtes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenges, and other fruites made for pleasure, but at the laste the place was wonne.[4]

Once the virtues were freed, the lords and ladies ‘daunced together verie pleasauntly’ before all ‘disuisered themselfes and wer known’ to great delight and acclaim, concluding the evening together with another ‘costly banket’.[5] With the festivities at an end and initial negotiations in place, the imperial ambassadors soon took their leave for Flanders, bringing back with them ‘muche commendacion’ for Henry and his court.[6]

These Shrovetide celebrations neatly illustrate the value of spectacles and revels, understood here to be distinct from the quotidian leisure activities of elites, as instruments of diplomacy and statecraft in the medieval and early modern periods.[7] But they also suggest the efficacy of

[4] TNA, SP 1/29, fos. 228-37; Hall, 631.
[5] Hall, 631.
[6] Hall, 632.
[7] Spectacle and revel are used interchangeably in this chapter in a general sense to refer to secular entertainments of a scale which required prior planning and production by the patron and encouraged spectatorship. This broad definition will be expounded below, but in general it seeks to set revels apart from leisure activities such as hunting and gaming, as well as the music, foolery and other incidental entertainments that would have been provided throughout the year by permanent members of elite and royal households from the medieval period forward.

seasonal festivals, not only as reliable occasions to stage princely magnificence, but as media capable of projecting and inflecting specific images of rulership. The above-described themes of desire, pain of love, and martial prowess, as expressed through war games and allegorical assaults, strongly echo the seasonal characteristics of Shrovetide. As we have seen in previous chapters, the festival annually brought to the fore dichotomies and conflicts tied to the season (e.g. excess/abstinence, lust/chastity, matrimony/bachelorhood, master/servant) offering resolution through competitions of prowess (e.g. football and tournaments) and ceremonies of mutual love and conviviality (e.g. weddings and feasts). This specific seasonal setting would have provided a useful backdrop for the image of kingship Henry VIII wished to cultivate and project at this time. The king appeared in the joust, not disguised as a fictional character but as himself – a successful warrior king engaging in feats of strength and skill on behalf of courtly love. The breach of the chateau brought together Ardent Desire and Beauty, a confident expression of virility and prowess prescient amidst anxieties over the king’s lack of a male heir. Henry’s role within this triumphant company is not known for certain, but the golden letters on his barding in the joust suggest ‘Loyalty’, a virtue Henry was keen to espouse in other revels of his reign.[8] Playing such a role, the king would reveal himself at the unmasking to be a champion of the courtly love paradox: victorious in romantic conquest yet steadfast in duty to his lady Queen Katharine. As the queen was the aunt of Charles V, such a public show of devotion would have carried political resonance for the imperial ambassadors in the audience.

While the martial performances and medieval romance themes described above were common enough in Tudor revels, certain seasonal occasions could be chosen to sharpen these images, underline their messages, and make their display more affective. Indeed, though seasonal festivals were by far the most common occasion for secular revels in the Tudor period, not all were celebrated with equal fervour. That Henry VIII had such a personal affinity for Shrovetide as an occasion for spectacle becomes evident when viewing the festival’s history at court over the *longue durée*. Henry celebrated Shrovetide in similar form and scale to the 1522 revels (i.e. with either martial spectacle, plays, masques or some combination thereof) in at least half of the years of his reign, and the king’s personal career in the lists can be mapped directly onto

[8] Marie Axton and W. R. Streitberger each point out that though the king was ‘chief of this compaignie’, he clearly was not Ardent Desire, a character introduced separately and with a speaking role. Axton proposes the king was disguised as ‘Loyalty’, while Streitberger is more cautious, offering ‘Amorous’ or ‘Loyalty’. Based on the letters of the king’s barding, and his use of the ‘Loyalty’ motif in other revels (e.g. in 1511 and 1524-5), especially in relation to Queen Katherine, I agree with Axton. See Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 113; M. Axton, ‘The Tudor Mask and Elizabethan Court Drama’, in M. Axton and R. Williams (eds.), *English Drama: Form and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29-30.

his Shrovetide jousts. From 1516-1527 Henry competed in Shrovetide martial exhibitions at least seven times, retiring from public tournaments after the final Shrove Tuesday joust of his reign in 1527. Looking forward in time, Shrovetide remained a fixture of Tudor and Stuart revels until 1642 and beyond. One-fifth of all Tudor and one-eighth of all Stuart revels were staged during this three-day festival, and it was the occasion of two of the greatest events for the respective dynasties: the coronation of Edward VI in 1547, and the wedding of Princess Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick V, Elector Palatine in 1613.[9] Shrove Tuesday arguably reached an apogee in significance at court during Charles I's personal rule, when it became the finale of a five-month long season of court revels and the regular date for the king and queen's personal performances in masques celebrating their absolute rule. Looking backward in time, however, the courts of Charles's ancestors, James IV of Scotland and Henry VII of England, show a conspicuous absence of Shrovetide spectacle around the end of the fifteenth century.

During the 1490s, Shrovetide was certainly celebrated at British courts, but not with the visually spectacular and theatrical revels characteristic of the festival by Henry VIII's reign, or indeed the end of James IV's in Scotland. Illustrative of this discrepancy, Henry VII paid £1 for Shrovetide cock-fighting at court in 1493 while Charles I paid £1200 for a Shrovetide masque in 1628.[10] True, the Stuarts spent more on revels than their predecessors, but neither Henry VII nor James IV's courts lacked for spectacle. At the time, however, it was almost entirely confined to the Twelve Days, with little sign of an extended season of revelry beyond Christmastide. This chapter is concerned with the occasion of spectacle (when it was performed), and moreover the change in ideas of appropriate occasion, as the British courtly revels season expanded from twelve days (Christmas to Twelfth Night) in the late fifteenth century to five months or more (Michaelmas to Shrove Tuesday) in Charles I's reign. It tracks Shrovetide's rise in stature during this broader development, and through an analysis of the specific cyclical and linear contexts of change and stasis, queries the relationship between seasonal festivity and the production of court spectacle as an instrument of elite power. In doing so the aim is to reframe seasonal festivals at court as contested and malleable platforms of display, where manipulations of the calendar and the co-opting of festive customs often went beyond seasonal diversion to serve policy, ambition and image.

[9] These statistics derive from the dataset in Appendix C, explained in more detail below.
[10] S. Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), 28; C. E. McGee and J. C. Meagher, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments: 1625-1634', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 36 (1997), 44.

Over the last century scholars across disciplines have studied the politics of British court spectacles, a rich subject sitting at the intersection of court and theatre studies. Medievalists have identified the burgeoning significance of spectacle to British rulers from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, exploring the influence of Burgundian court culture and the close relationship between civic and court pageantry.[11] Tudor historians and literary scholars have emphasized the central role of artistic and performative forms in prestige diplomacy, princely image-making, and religious debate.[12] Jacobean and Caroline scholars, focusing particularly on the court masque but also on plays, royal entries, and great state events, find in court performance affectations of absolute monarchism covering the self-consciousness of an aristocracy in crisis.[13] Additionally, the Tudor and Stuart courts have been analysed together in relation to the development of London's commercial theatre, the political advantages of theatrical patronage, and the role of drama in transitions of power.[14] More recently, Sarah Carpenter and others have increased our knowledge of the Scottish court, showing an entity smaller than its southern neighbour, but no less cognizant of the potential power of performance.[15] So too has interest increased in early modern court festivity as a pan-European

[11] J.Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955); B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson, *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). For spectacle at the medieval English court see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903); C. Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978); J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982). For medieval Scotland see note below.

[12] For the Tudors in general see D. M. Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, 1977); Streitberger, *Court Revels*; G. Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998). For Henry VII see S. Anglo, 'Court Festivals of Henry VII'; For Henry VIII: G. Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); For Edward VI: S. Westfall, 'The Boy Who Would Be King: Court Revels of King Edward VI, 1547-1553', *Comparative Drama*, vol. 35, 3 (2001), 271–290; For Elizabeth: Jean Wilson (ed.), *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge and Totoya NJ: D.S. Brewer, 1980); M. H. Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); W. R. Streitberger, *The Masters of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court Theatre* (Oxford: OUP, 2016).

[13] Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong pioneered the study of Stuart masque and spectacle. See especially S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). More recently, the New Historicists have expanded on their work, examining the masque as historical and political action: J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring (eds.), *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1993); D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998); M. Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture.* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008); K. Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Compnay, 2009).

[14] G. Fitch and S. Orgel (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); J. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999)**;** M. Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: OUP, 2012).

[15] S. Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *The Scottish Historical Review* 82, no. 214 (2003), 194-225; '"To thexaltacyon of noblesse" A Herald's Account of the Marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV', *Medieval English Theatre*, 29 (2007); 'Plays and Playcoats: A Courtly

language of elite power, transmitted through ephemeral display and the distinct literary genre of the triumph book.[16] Congruent to these developments, the performative turn has encouraged scholars to view all manner of ceremony and action at princely courts as political performance, expanding discussion beyond the overtly mimetic.[17]

Within the latter literature works have tended to focus on momentous dynastic and state events: celebrations of births, betrothals, marriages, entries, victories, treaties, and foreign embassies. Indeed, these, in contrast to seasonal celebrations, are understood largely as the modern academic definition of 'court festival'.[18] Naturally, as events with major dynastic, domestic and international implications, these once-in-a-lifetime events were often observed with more elaborate revels and recorded with more scrupulous detail than their seasonal counterparts. Researchers have skilfully demonstrated how revels could serve both to glorify the court, and give comment on the socio-political import of the event in question (e.g. invoking themes of mutual love and international alliance at a royal wedding, domestic harmony at a royal entrance, amity between nations at a treaty signing).[19] Despite the fact that, numerically, most

Interlude Tradition in Scotland?', *Comparative Drama*, vol. 46, 4 (2012), 475–496. See also L. O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991); K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); A. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005).

[16] P. Béhar and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe = Histoire Du Spectactle En Europe 1580-1750* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); J. R. Mulryne and E. Goldring, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); J.R. Mulryne et al. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: MHRA in Conjunction with Ashgate, 2004). The works of Roy Strong are also foundational in their pan-European scope and emphasis on the visual elements of court festivals: *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973); *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984). See also the *European Festival Studies* publication series helmed by J. R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewing and Margaret M. McGowan, as well as the British Library's online repository of Renaissance triumph books: https://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/homepage.html

[17] As Janette Dillon has noted when analysing such premodern court activities: 'formal elements of reception and public ceremony are barely separable from the seemingly more pleasure-based pursuits of banqueting and revelling': *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 103. See also J. Loach, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past & Present*, 142 (1994), 43-68; and Fiona Kisby's work on the Tudor Royal Chapel: 'The Royal Household Chapel in Early-Tudor London' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1996); 'Kingship and the Royal Itinerary', *Court Historian*, 4, 1 (1999), 29-39; F. Kisby, '"When the King Goeth a Procession": Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547', *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 1 (2001), 44–75.

[18] Of the forty-four primary texts related to court festivals in Mulryne et al. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans* almost all fall into this category of extraordinary dynastic/state event. The general exclusion of religious/seasonal court festivity from this definition is also apparent in the introduction to J. R. Mulryne and E. Goldring, *Court Festivals*, 1-14, esp.7.

[19] See for e.g. L. G. Barrow, '"The Kynge Sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a Grett Tame Hart": Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV 1502-13', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 21, 1, (2004), 65–84; S. Anglo, 'The Imperial Alliance and the Entry of the Emperor Charles V into London: June 1522', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 2, 4, (1962), 131-55.

spectacles occurred in seasonal festive contexts, this same approach has seldom been used to consider the political advantages of staging magnificence during festivals with distinct popular and liturgical connotations, and the effect this may have had on revel form and content. Neither has it been much discussed that great state events at the British courts were frequently and deliberately held during traditional festivals. Certainly, scholars have recognized the close correlation between court revels and the British festive calendar since the works of E. K. Chambers and G. E. Bentley, but the seasonal festive aspects of such revels have rarely been considered in terms of elite power and policy.[20] Enid Welsford, for example, noted of Thomas Middleton's festive *Masque of the Heroes*, performed during the extended Carnival season in 1619: 'it is no means the only masque in which the plot is nothing but a symbolic setting forth either of the particular holiday which was being celebrated, or else more generally of the flight of time, the succession of day and night, the round of seasons, months, and festivals'.[21] The 'nothing but' betrays a certain dismissiveness towards seasonality as a catalyst and medium for sophisticated topical discourse, political or otherwise. To Welsford, and many scholars who have followed her, seasonal festive revels offered elites ritual escape from daily worries of policy and courtly intrigue, rather than opportunity to shape, further or comment upon them.

Outside the politics of court revelry, much scholarly work has been done on the festive calendar's relationship to wider performance traditions. Since the 1960s, textual critics have studied festive culture and particularly Carnival as an abstract dramatic mode called the carnivalesque, understood to have pervaded literature and theatre during the period.[22] For those studying developments in mimetic form, Carnival and Christmas have been of interest as the traditional occasion for folk mumming/masking and its courtly counterparts.[23] Festive time's

[20] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923); G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-68). Notable exceptions include Peter Greenfield, who discusses the appropriation of Epiphany drama in medieval aristocratic households for political purposes: 'Festive Drama at Christmas in Aristocratic Households', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 34-40.

[21] E. Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry & the Revels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1927), 209.

[22] See for e.g. C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959); M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); R. Axton, 'Folk play in Tudor interludes', in M. Axton and R. Williams (eds.), *English Drama: Forms and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1-23; F. Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*, trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge: CUP, 1991); M. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York, NY: Methuen, 1985); P. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

[23] Welsford, 9-18; M. Twycross and S. Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 52-100, 128-68. The absence of folk masking at British Shrovetide has oft been noted

importance as the primary and in many cases only regular occasion for pre-commercial drama and other spectacular forms is now widely appreciated as well.[24] Recognizing the affective potential in the latter relationship, scholars such as Rudolph Hassel and Fiona Kisby have argued that elites derived political and religious influence from strategically staging court ceremonies or revels on specific feast days.[25] Other arguments for the political efficacy of festive occasion have been espoused in studies of early modern calendar formation. As Ronald Hutton, David Cressy and others have shown, in the wake of the Reformation the English Parliament and crown shaped a new calendar of Protestant holidays, centred predominately on the cult of the royal family, to further nationalistic and religious agendas.[26]

Despite surface similarities between the creation of the Protestant calendar and the expansion of the traditional court revels season at British courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the basic model for the former has never been applied to the question of the latter. In other words, the idea that elites strategically created the changes apparent in the revels season, including the rise of Shrovetide spectacle, to garner prestige and/or distinct political gain has rarely been explored. Indeed, scholars have scarcely commented upon changes in the court revels calendar at all.[27] Instead, seasonal festivals, as occasions at least, have largely been taken

in this historiographical tradition, but not the apparent contradiction this poses to elite practices. As will become clear below, Shrovetide court masking was popular from Henry VIII's reign forward.

[24] G. Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660 Vol.3: Plays and their Makers to 1576* (London and Henley: Routledge and K. Paul, 1981), 3-47; C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); For the impact of the commercial theatre on this relationship see E. T. Lin, 'Festivity,' in H. S. Turner (ed.), *Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 212-229.

[25] Hassel focuses on theatrical revels, strictly the surviving plays and masques, looking at the ten church festivals that were the most popular occasions for the performance of these at the Elizabethan and Stuart courts. Measuring the degree to which the liturgical messages of these holy days may have been deliberately appropriated by writers and consciously received by audiences, Hassel finds a strong correlation, concluding that 'the Renaissance court audience would have expected such apposite performances, and therefore looked for parallels': R. C. Hassel, *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 174-175. Kisby demonstrates that the royal household built its itinerary around the festive year, residing in the main furnished palaces on the chief feast days and performing ceremonies of estate, crown wearing, etc on the same: 'Kingship and the Royal Itinerary'; '"When the King Goeth a Procession".

[26] Starting in Elizabeth's reign, new national holidays were created to celebrate royal accessions, birthdays, significant victories and foiled plots against the monarchy. At the court this movement resulted in annual Elizabethan and Jacobean Accession Day jousts. On the Protestant Calendar in general see D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 50-67; R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 386-91. For Accession Day jousts see R. Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journals of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 86–103; A. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987).

[27] The main exception would be Rudolph Hassel, the first to readily identify this change and attempt to quantify it. He does note venture reasons for why these shifts occurred, beyond a Jacobean love for plays: Hassel, 4. Others such as Chambers and Streitberger have noted the growth of the revels calendar but not investigated the reasons for it: *MSC, Volume XIII: Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts, 1603-1642*, (ed.) W. R. Streitberger (Oxford: Malone Society, 1986), xxii.

for granted as benign, passively perceived, static annual backdrops to other developments in court performance. In contrast, this chapter approaches the traditional season of court revelry as dynamic. It argues royals and courtiers invested in festivals such as Shrovetide as occasions for spectacle in part because the attendant festive themes, customs and reputations were instrumental to a desired agenda or image. Such choices over time contributed, alongside other factors, to change and continuity in seasonal tradition. To demonstrate this, the proceeding sections first map changes and stasis in elite Shrovetide entertainments and the revels calendar, before analysing the agents and causes behind them.

Picking the Date: Establishing Occasions of Revelry at the Tudor-Stuart Court

Scholars largely agree that court spectacle was an instrument of elite governance and prestige, and that it was recognized as such by premodern observers, even if they did not always agree on its value and meaning.[28] As Sarah Carpenter has summarised on the subject: 'by the sixteenth century all the courts of Europe were fully versed in the power of court performance as an instrument, however minor, of prestige, of diplomacy, of politics and sometimes even of government itself'.[29] If court revels were such useful and potentially potent tools of premodern statecraft, we might expect to see them deployed whenever and wherever circumstances and resources allowed. This section queries if such was the case, focusing on the relationship between the production of revels and occasion.[30]

Over the last century scholars have combined financial records with other sources such as state papers, chronicles, triumph books, and tournament rolls to compile provisional calendars of English court revels from 1485 to 1642.[31] Thanks to these collective calendaring efforts it is now possible to make a statistical analysis of when and for what purpose revels were usually produced at the English court during this period, and how this changed or maintained over time. To conduct such a survey, the dates and occasions of over 950 individual court revels (i.e. distinctly planned and performed spectator entertainments) from the reign of Henry VII

[28] Francis Bacon, for example, famously called court revels 'but toys, to come amongst such serious observations'. Nonetheless, he conceded that 'princes will have such things', and often contributed masques and speeches for the benefit of his patrons. On the merits versus trivialities of revels for early moderns, see D. Lindley, 'Introduction', in D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 1-19.
[29] Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 194. For similar views see Wilson, 10; Bevington, *Tudor Drama*, 3.
[30] On the relationship between specifically drama and occasion, not just festive occasion, see Wickham, 48-61.
[31] The range of sources, their survival and coverage for the period are addressed briefly in Appendix C, but for more detailed explanations see Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 233-5, 393-9.

until the accession of James I have been compiled into a dataset. In order to measure the relative frequency of revelry and detect patterns at different seasons, feast days, and special occasions, each revel has been counted and categorized into four types of occasion: dynastic/state event, seasonal festival, dynastic/state event during seasonal festival, and ‘no known occasion’. Further details on revel type and form have been included, alongside more tentative designations of theme or genre, in order to query any connections between such factors and Shrovetide paricualrly. It must be stressed that the dataset is provisional and in no way comprehensive; there are gaps in chronological coverage, missing sources which no doubt recorded additional entertainments, and methodological difficulties inherent in assigning occasion. Nonetheless, understood as a representative sample, the dataset can suggest trends in when and why princely magnificence was staged at the early modern English court.[32]

Here it is important to distinguish the staging of princely magnificence through spectacle from other forms of court entertainment and ceremony. The dataset contains only secular ‘spectacles’ and ‘revels’, which are defined in this study interchangeably as spectator entertainments of a scale requiring planning, production and payment, and which took place outside the religious context of church and chapel.[33] In other words, performative spectacles and revels are held as distinct, though not necessarily unrelated to, religious and other court ceremonial, as well as daily elite leisure activities such as hunting, hawking, riding, shooting, gambling (i.e. cards, dice, etc.), watching foolery, informal dancing, and playing and listening to music.[34] Rather than arbitrary, this distinction and method of categorization is based largely on contemporary views, expressed in the way entertainments were described, organized and funded.

For most aristocrats and princes of the sixteenth century, play was their ‘work’, so to speak, sharpening essential skills in sociability and reflecting status and privilege; it was thus hardly

[32] For a full explanation of this dataset and the sources consulted see Appendix C. Briefly, the primary catalogues which have been used include: Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 233-299; *Masters of the Revels*, 239-92; *MSC XIII*; Young, 196-208; Astington, 221-267; Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, 358-376. M. S. Steele, *Plays & Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926).

[33] Included are martial exhibitions (jousts, tourneys, barriers, sieges, running at the ring, etc), mimetic performances (plays, interludes, masques, disguisings, mummeries, etc), athletic exhibitions (football, tumblers, feats of activity, etc), animal blood sports (bear and bull-baiting, cock-fighting etc). See Appendix C.

[34] Music, foolery and dancing present a grey area as spectator entertainments, but since minstrels and fools were often employed on a permanent basis in the medieval and early modern royal household these have been excluded as leisure activities which would have been enjoyed regularly.

limited to festivals and special occasions.[35] Indeed, the daily practice of leisure and recreation at English and Scottish courts is well-attested in narrative and financial sources of the period. Edward Hall describes how Henry VIII passed time ‘exercisying hym self daily in shotyng, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, making of balettes…’ during his summer progress of 1510.[36] Similar observations were made of other British princes.[37] But while royals enjoyed any number of daily diversions, commentators usually separated these activities from more visually impressive, expensive and calculated displays. Hall, for instance, concluded his account of Henry VIII’s summer progress with the following: ‘And when he came to Okyng, there wer kept both Iustes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in hunting, hawking, and shotyng’.[38] Thus, a distinction is made between a publicly visible and extraordinary activity staged at a royal residence, and the private and altogether ordinary princely pursuits of the day-to-day.

The idea that spectacle was understood as separate from leisure activity, and thereby customarily reserved for special occasion is voiced clearly by French courtier Thoinot Arbeau in his popular dance manual of 1588: ‘Kings and princes command dances and masks, to celebrate, receive and welcome foreign nobility. We use such festivity on days of wedding celebrations, and at the festive ceremonial on Church holidays’.[39] Arbeau’s words suggest court revels were not staged whenever and wherever resources allowed, and analysis of the dataset proves this point: of the 960 individual recorded revels produced for the Tudor court from 1485-1603, 93% were held during seasonal festivals or special dynastic/state events (**Fig. 1**). In short, though court spectacles were powerful instruments of statecraft and monarchy, they were usually deployed in limited settings prompted by legitimizing factors. Ostentatious celebration was rarely held for the mere sake of it. This may seem a trivial or obvious point,

[35] Rather than an early modern ‘invention of leisure’, this trend seems largely a humanist expansion of the medieval elite prerogative to exercise pleasure whenever one pleased. In the medieval period such pursuits were closely aligned with the military training of a warrior class, but by the early modern period the responsibilities of elites had become more diverse and concerned with ideas of civility and gentile governance. On this and the general debate surrounding the early modern ‘invention of leisure’ see J. Marfany, ‘The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe’, *Past & Present,* 156 (1997), 174-91; in response to P. Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present,* 146 (1995), 136-50.
[36] Hall, 515.
[37] For e.g. an ambassador visiting Edward VI in 1550 observed how the young king pursued hunting, shooting, riding and lute-playing every day. When an Italian ambassador visited Elizabeth’s court in 1559, he remarked that the Queen's ‘daily arrangements’ consisted of ‘musical performances and other entertainments’: Anglo, *Spectacle,* 117; Carpenter, ‘Performing Diplomacies’, 198.
[38] Hall, 515.
[39] As quoted and translated in Carpenter, ‘Performing Diplomacies’, 205.

but the Tudor approach to occasions of revelry was by no means a universal or fixed one in the early modern period. The statistics for the Stuart courts make this clear. After the accession of James I to the English throne, the number of revels without a specific occasion rose drastically. According to Rudolph Hassel, for example, only 36% of dated court plays and masques were staged on religious feast days at the Stuart court, compared to about 80% under Elizabeth.

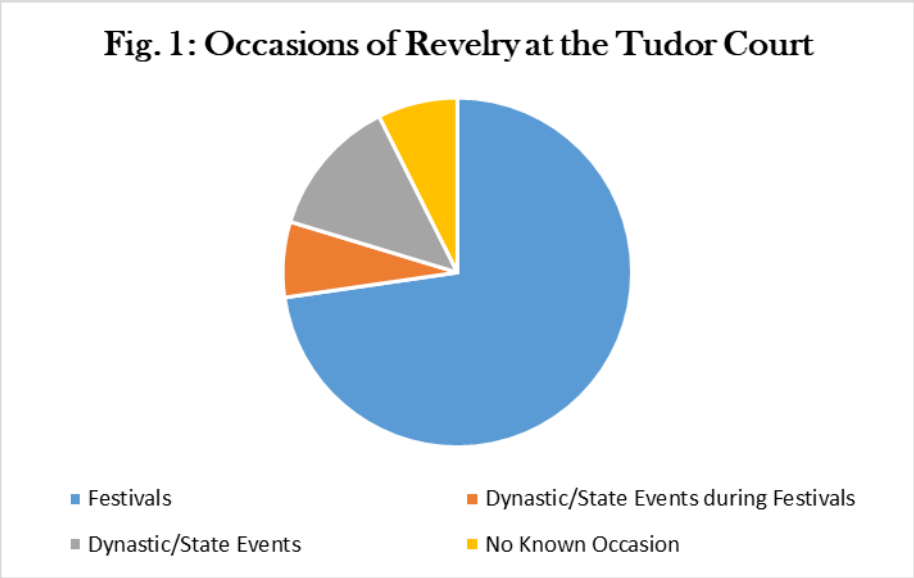


FIGURE 1 Chart showing the occasions of 960 individual Tudor court revels compiled in Appendix C, categorized as those which occurred during seasonal festivals, those which occurred at special events of dynastic or state importance, those which occurred because of the former *and* the latter, and those which were not produced for any stated reason.

Despite this apparent ideological shift towards appropriate occasions for spectacle, Stuart court revels still took place overwhelmingly during the months between Hallowmas and Shrovetide, implying the close relationship remained between festive seasonality and court revelry. It was perhaps festive time’s parameters, and what constituted a ‘spectacle’, which changed as a *series* of defined festivals at court (i.e. Christmas, Shrovetide) became an extended festive *season* at court (i.e. November to March). Indeed, although scholars tend to focus on the revels of larger state events, seasonal festive time was clearly of paramount importance to court revelry: 80% of all Tudor examples occurred during traditional feast days (**Fig. 1**). Furthermore, one-third of all Tudor dynastic/state revels took place during seasonal festivals (**Fig. 1**), suggesting the deliberate pairing of occasions of political import with ones of liturgical and popular resonance. The history of the English coronation illustrates the latter strategy emphatically.

The *Liber Regalis*, compiled in the late fourteenth century, specified that English monarchs must be crowned 'always on a Sunday or some Holy-day'.[40] Looking at the *longue durée* of the ceremony confirms this rule was naught but a codification of ancient custom (**Fig. 2**). From Edward the Confessor's ceremony on Easter Sunday in 1043, through to Anne's on St. George's Day in 1702, forty-six out of forty-nine coronations took place on a Sunday or Holy Day. Picking the right feast day was an enduring matter of strategy, symbolism and affective piety, clearly visible in some of the dates chosen: William the Conqueror on Christmas Day, Stephen on St Stephen's Day, John on Ascension, Henry IV on the Translation of St Edward the Confessor, James on St James's Day, and the three St George's Day coronations of Charles II, James II and Anne, just to name a few. The tradition existed, though was less strong, in Scotland as well. James IV, for example, was crowned on Midsummer's Day (also the anniversary of Bannockburn), as his eventual brother-in-law Henry VIII would be. Nor was Shrovetide absent from this tradition. Edward VI's Shrove Sunday coronation was the third of its kind, placing the feast day alongside Pentecost and St George's Day in prevalence. Though other practicalities influenced the Privy Council's decision, staging the boy king's coronation celebrations in congress with the public merriness of Shrovetide (see **Fig. 3**) may have been an effort to enlist the public's good will for the new regime. Such seems to have been the strategy of Henry III of France, who was crowned not once but twice on Shrove Sunday within the span of two years (1574-5).[41] These coronations underscore how elites often executed their actions in conference with the festive calendar – a rich tapestry ever available for their aggrandisement.

Monarch	**Consort**	**Date**	**Week Day**	**Feast Day, Holy Day, Saint's Day**
Edward the Confessor		3 April 1043	**Sunday**	**Easter**
Harold Godwinson		6 January 1066		**Epiphany**
William I		25 December 1066	Monday	**Christmas**
	Matilda of Flanders	11 May 1068	**Sunday**	**Pentecost**
William II		26 September 1087	**Sunday**	
Henry I		5 August 1100	**Sunday**	**Oswald**
	Matilda of Scotland	11 November 1100	**Sunday**	**Martin**

[40] L. G. W. Legg (ed.), *English Coronation Records* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), 113. On the history of the English coronation see P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L. G. W. Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); and A. Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

[41] On Shrove Sunday 1574 the future Henry III was crowned King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Cracow, attending the wedding of one of his new Polish nobles on Shrove Tuesday. On Shrove Sunday 1575, Henry was crowned King of France in Reims, attending his own wedding to Louise de Lorraine on Shrove Tuesday. The king clearly had an affinity for the Carnival, for his regular participation in seasonal masquerades was a source of some controversy during the reign: Mulryne et al. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, 105, 109, 118-9, 133-9, 214.

	Adeliza of Louvain	25 January 1121	Tuesday	**Conversion of Paul**
Stephen		26 December 1135	Thursday	**Stephen**
	Matilda of Boulogne	22 March 1136	**Sunday**	**Easter**
Henry II	Eleanor of Aquitaine	19 December 1154	**Sunday**	
Henry the Young King		14 June 1170	**Sunday**	
	Margaret of France	27 August 1172	**Sunday**	
Richard I		3 September 1189	**Sunday**	
	Berengaria of Navarre	12 May 1191	**Sunday**	
John		27 May 1199	Thursday	**Ascension**
	Isabella of Angoulême	8 October 1200	**Sunday**	
Henry III (1st)		28 October 1216	Friday	**Simon and Jude**
Henry III (2nd)		17 May 1220	**Sunday**	**Pentecost**
	Eleanor of Provence	20 January 1236	**Sunday**	**Fabian and Sebastian**
Edward I	Eleanor of Castile	19 August 1274	**Sunday**	
Edward II	Isabella of France	25 February 1308	**Sunday**	**Quinquagesima (Shrove Sunday)**
Edward III		1 February 1327	**Sunday**	**Vigil of Purification of Mary**
	Philippa of Hainault	25 February 1330	**Sunday**	
Richard II		**16 July 1377**	**Thursday**	
	Anne of Bohemia	22 January 1383	Thursday	**Vincent**
	Isabella of Valois	7 January 1397	**Sunday**	
Henry IV		13 October 1399	Monday	**Translation of Edward the Confessor**
	Joanna of Navarre	27 February 1403	**Sunday**	**Quinquagesima (Shrove Sunday)**
Henry V		9 April 1413	**Sunday**	**Passion Sunday**
	Catherine of Valois	23 February 1421	**Sunday**	
Henry VI		**5 November 1429**	**Saturday**	
	Margaret of Anjou	30 May 1445	**Sunday**	
Edward IV		28 June 1461	**Sunday**	
	Elizabeth Woodville	26 May 1465	**Sunday**	
Richard III	Anne Neville	6 July 1483	**Sunday**	
Henry VII		30 October 1485	**Sunday**	
	Elizabeth of York	25 November 1487	**Sunday**	**Catherine**
Henry VIII	Catherine of Aragon	24 June 1509	**Sunday**	**John the Baptist (Midsummer)**
	Anne Boleyn	1 June 1533	**Sunday**	**Pentecost**
Edward VI		20 February 1547	**Sunday**	**Quinquagesima (Shrove Sunday)**
Mary I		1 October 1553	**Sunday**	
Elizabeth I		15 January 1559	**Sunday**	
James VI and I	Anne of Denmark	25 July 1604	Monday	**James**
Charles		2 February 1626	Thursday	**Purification of Mary (Candlemas)**
Charles II		23 April 1661	Tuesday	**George**
James VII and II	Mary of Modena	23 April 1685	Thursday	**George**
William III and II and Mary II		**11 April 1689**	**Thursday**	
Anne		23 April 1702	Thursday	**George**

FIGURE 2 Table of English coronation dates. Sunday or Holy Days are in bold, while those coronations not following this tradition (3 total) are shown in red. Dates culled from the ODNB.

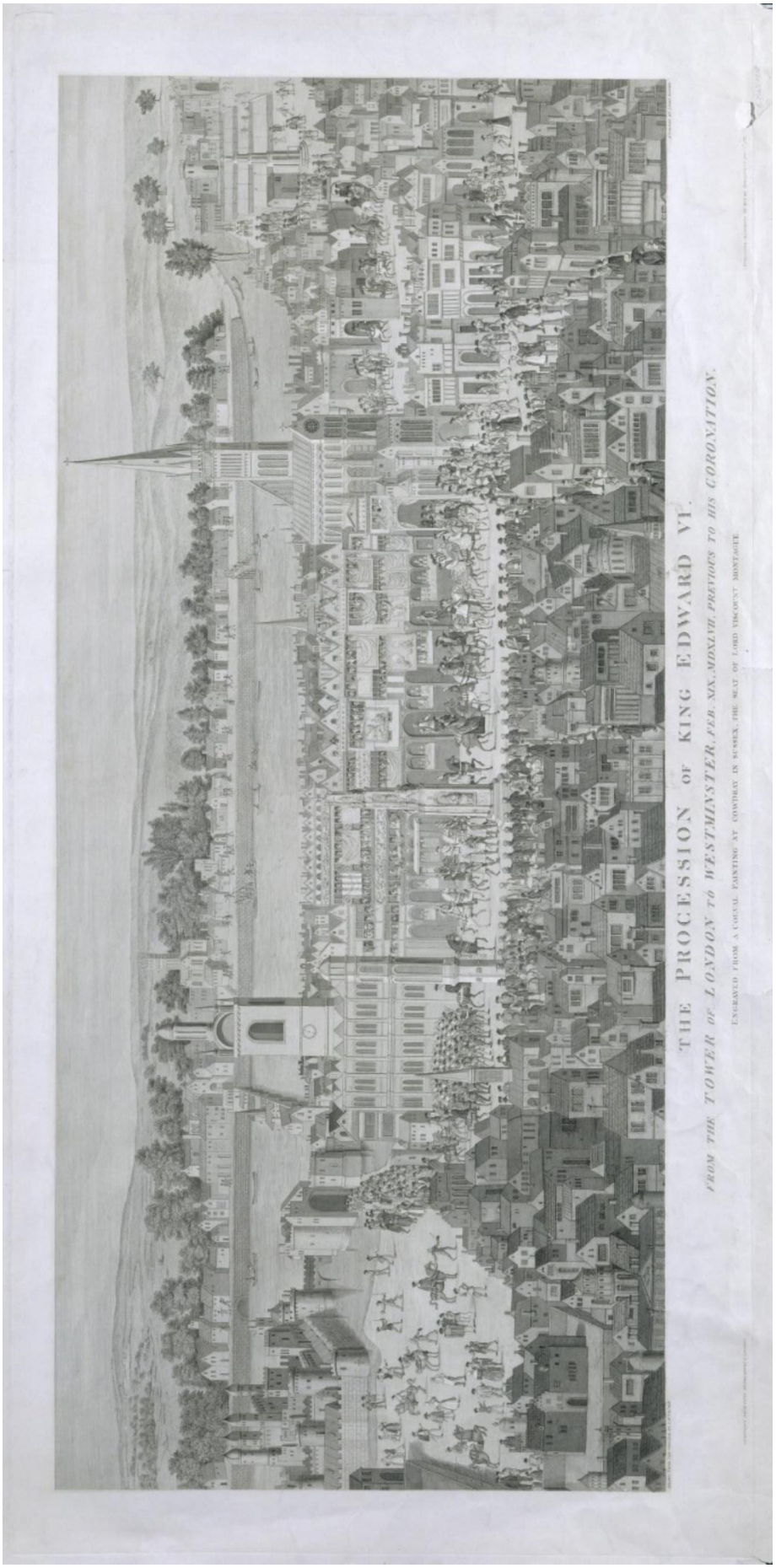


FIGURE 3 Edward VI’s procession through London on Shrove Saturday before his coronation on Shrove Sunday 20 February 1547. Engraved from a drawing by S. H. Grimm of a contemporary painting at Cowdray, Sussex. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

This propensity to play with festive occasion also shows in the seasonal patterns of court revelry. As **Figure 4** displays, each English monarch’s court differed in the festivals observed or emphasized with secular spectacle. At the beginning of the dynasty, Christmastide reigned supreme as the chief revels season; at Henry VII’s court 73% of all seasonal spectacles were concentrated during the Twelve Days, with May festivals (10%), receiving the only other sizable attention.[42] By the end of Elizabeth’s reign, the revels calendar had become more extended and diverse than that of her grandfather. Christmastide revels were still of paramount importance but made up a smaller proportion of the total (54%). Shrovetide revels made up the second-largest proportion (30%), contrasting sharply with their relative obscurity at the beginning of the sixteenth century (3%). This change seems to have been set in motion during Henry VIII’s reign, when Shrovetide spectacles rose proportionally from 3% to 20% of the total. Evidence for Shrovetide spectacles survive for about half the years of Henry VIII’s reign, but they were planned for every year of his son’s short rule. Edward VI’s reign also shows the highest proportion of Shrovetide revels of any in the Tudor or Stuart period (35%). Perhaps due to a combination of this enthusiasm and the advent of the Office of Revels in 1545, Shrovetide became a standard part of an evolving season at court. Indeed, after Henry VIII’s death, Shrovetide revels were planned or produced for all but three of the remaining sixty-six years of the dynasty, with the annual tradition maintained under James and Charles.

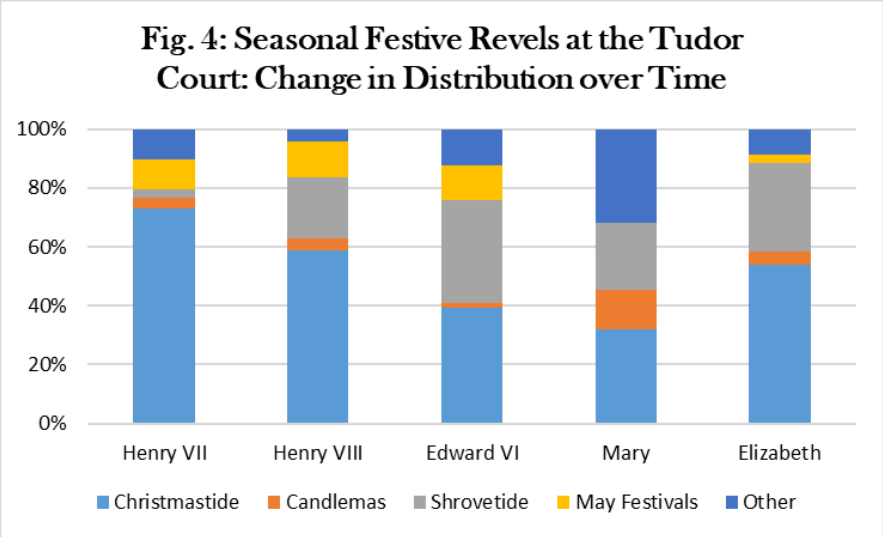


FIGURE 4 Chart showing the 765 Tudor revels planned/performed for seasonal festivals, distributed by reign and seasonal festive occasion. Note the differences in festive occasion between reigns and Shrovetide’s rise in stature after Henry VII.

[42] In this study May festivals include Maytide (May 1-3), Whitsuntide, Rogationtide or events called ‘Mayings’, ‘Maygames’, etc. Revels held in May or June but not in one of these designations have not been included, unless they obviously exhibit performative themes connected to the May season.

Using information from the dataset, **Figure 5** displays Shrovetide's position within a developing revels season from 1485 to 1642, visualizing periods of change, transition or stasis. These periods include an increase in the number of Shrovetide spectacles in the reign of Henry VIII; the stabilization of an annual tradition of Shrovetide revels in the reign of Edward VI; the maintenance of such a tradition amidst the creation of a Protestant calendar under Elizabeth; and the advent of an extended Carnival season of revels under the Stuarts. The figure presents a compelling, but perhaps deceptively simple picture of English court revelry in the early modern period. It appears almost organic, steadily expanding from Christmas into a five-month season over the course of a century. This tidy progression can be contrasted with traditions at the Scottish court. Although records are not as full for the latter, they provide both insight into precedents for later Stuart practices, and compelling counterpoints to the English model. As will be discussed below, James IV favoured Shrovetide as an occasion for spectacular tournaments and disguisings in the latter half of his reign, but this tradition was seemingly not maintained at the court of his son. Similar Shrovetide customs were reintroduced by Mary, but once again died out after her forced abdication. Due to the chronic instability of the Scottish court, traditions of revelry developed irregularly, and as explored in later sections were perhaps shaped more forcefully by continental (read: French) fashions.[43] The Scottish case provides a prescient reminder of the central role individual agency plays in the creation and alteration of tradition. Without a central patron or dedicated bureaucracy there was no impetus or means for customary revels to flourish and maintain. Analysing the courts together can thus illustrate the different ways courtiers helped alter, maintain or abandon seasonal traditions of celebration at court. The sections which follow evaluate the extent to which agents of the court recognized the social efficacy of seasonal revels and helped produce the shifts in tradition noted thus far. First, however, the medieval precedents for elite entertainment at Shrovetide will be examined, to establish how far suggested shifts in tradition around the beginning of the sixteenth century represent true change and discontinuity with the past.

[43] On this chronic instability and its effect on court revelry, see S. Carpenter, 'The Royal Court of Scotland 1579-1585', *REED Pre-publication Collections*. https://reedprepub.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/james-vi-pre-pub-intro1.pdf. [accessed 7 Nov 2018].

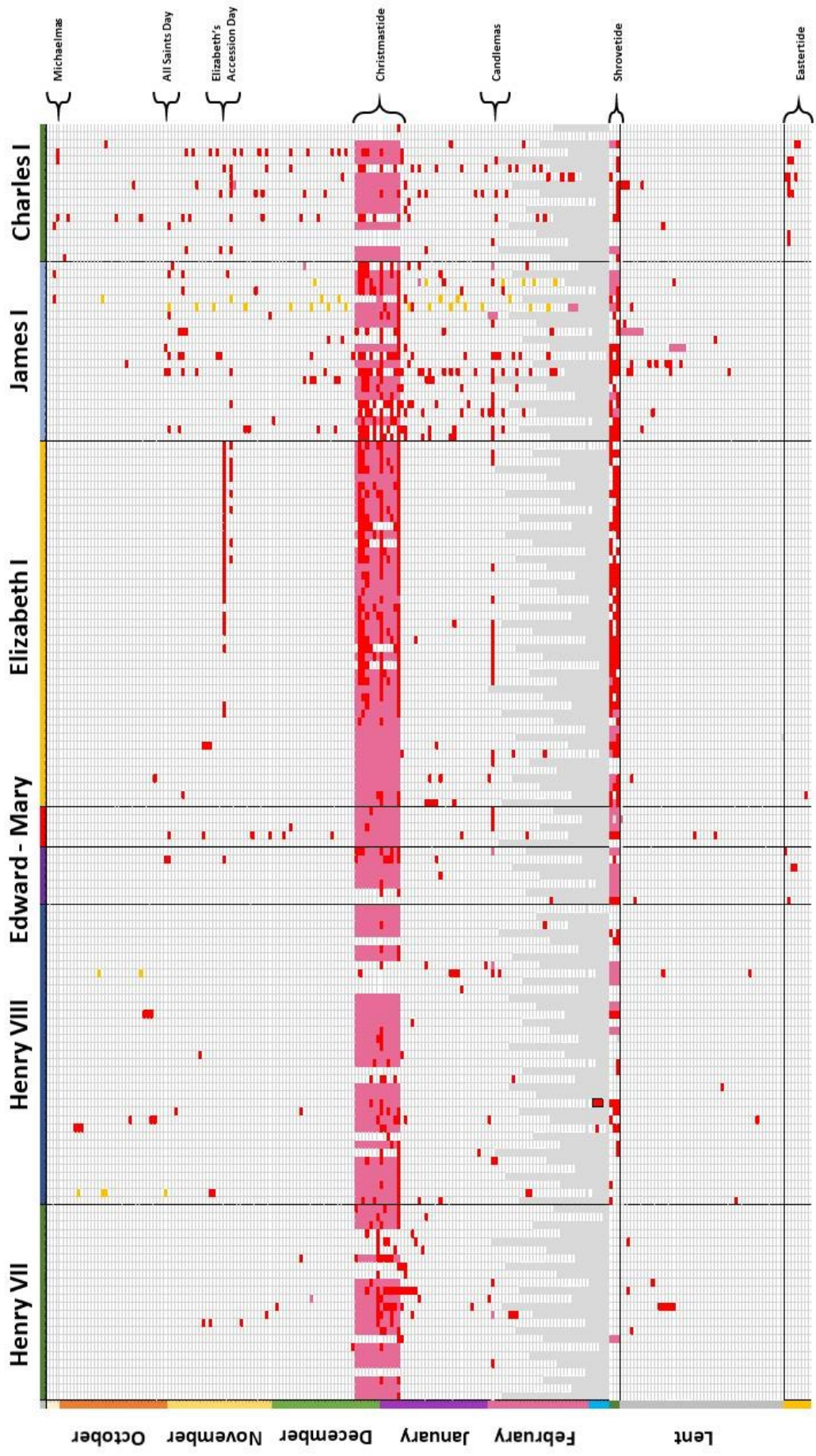


FIGURE 5 Development of the Tudor and Stuart court revels season visualized. Each cell represents a single day. Easter/Lent/Shrovetide have been fixed. Red cell means at least one revel performed on the day. Pink cells show a series of days or festival during which revels were performed but not precisely dated. Yellow cells represent a recorded performance on an unspecified day within a range of days. The cell itself has been randomly chosen and does not reflect an actual performance on that day. This has been done to visualize Stuart plays, often imprecisely dated as occurring between a range of months or weeks.

Medieval Precedent: Shrovetide Customs of the British Elite before the Reformation

This section charts the development of Shrovetide traditions of entertainment at English and Scottish courts from the oldest surviving records (c.1200) to around the turn of the sixteenth century. It attempts to establish whether the extravagant Shrovetide banquets, tournaments, plays and masques of the sixteenth century represented continuity, innovation, and/or re-introduction. It uses royal financial records, chronicles, literary sources, and a sample of household accounts from lesser religious and secular landowners to do so.[44] Although the latter sample of accounts should not be understood to represent royal courts in miniature, it can suggest which Shrovetide practices were shared within an elite population.[45] To ascertain if

[44] Sources primarily include exchequer, wardrobe, household, privy purse and the later chamber and treasurer accounts. Some of the principal printed editions consulted for English royal sources include *Rotuli de Libertate ac de Misis et Praetestis Regnante Johanne*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1844); *Roll of divers accounts for the early years of the reign of Henry III*, ed. F. A. Cazel (London: PRS new series 44, 1982); *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, ed. B. L. Wild (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2012); *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286* eds. B. F. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1977); *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289* eds. B. F. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1986); *The Household Book of Queen Isabella of England, for the Fifth Regnal Year of Edward II, 8th July 1311 to 7th July 1312* eds. F. D. Blackley and G. Hermansen (Classical and Historical Studies, 1; Edmonton, Alta: University of Alberta Press, 1971); *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York. Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth with a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes* ed. N. H. Nicolas (London: William Pickering, 1830); E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1903), iv. 256-7; Anglo, 'Court Festivals of Henry VII'. For the Scottish court: *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 22 vols. (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1878-1908); *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland [TA]*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1877–1978).

[45] All general statements about Shrovetide celebration in elite households are based on the following twenty-five sample accounts, listed here chronologically with pertinent year, name and type of account. All are from English households, as few if any medieval household accounts survive for Wales and Scotland: *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, 2 vols. (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 17–18; Oxford: OUP, 1992–3), i. 111 [1207, Hugh de Neville of Essex Diet Accounts]; TNA, E 101/349/4 [1221, Bristol Castle Diet Accounts]; E 101/350/10 [1222, Bristol Castle Diet Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, i.150 [1226, Eleanor of Brittany Diet Accounts]; *Documents Illustrating the Rule of Water de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307*, ed. B. F. Harvey (Camden Society, 4th ser. 2; 1965), 37, 181; *A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford*, ed. J. Webb (Camden Society, 59 and 62; 1853-4), 52-3, [1290, Diet and Wardrobe Accounts]; E 101/505/25 [1296, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke Diet Accounts]; E 101/505/26-7 [1297, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke Diet Accounts]; DL 28/1/14, Memb.2r [1319, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster Diet Accounts]; E 101/372/4 [1320, Hugh Audley the Younger, later Earl of Gloucester Diet Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, i. 213-4, [1337, Dame Katherine de Norwich Diet Accounts]; 'Household Roll of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury', ed. A. H. Thompson, *Somerset Record Society Collectanea*, 1 (1924), 72-174, at 142-43, [1338, Diet Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, i. 232, [1344, John de Multon of Frampton, Lincolnshire Diet Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, i. 245, [1348, John de Multon of Frampton, Lincolnshire Diet Accounts]; SC 6/1261/6, fos.21v-22r, 75r-v [1372 and 1373, Nicholas de Litlington Abbot of Westminster Diet Accounts]; *Account rolls of the obedientiaries of Peterborough*, ed. J Greatrex (Northamptonshire Record Society, 33; 1984), 132, [1405, William Ginge, Abbot of Peterborough Household and Wardrobe Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, i. 336-8, [1407, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury Diet Accounts]; *Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412–Sept. 1413*, ed. M. K. Dale and V. B. Redstone (Ipswich: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1931), 44-5, [Diet Accounts]; *Account rolls of the obedientiaries of* Peterborough, 143 [1414, John Deeping, Abbot of Peterborough Household and Wardrobe Accounts]; *Household Accounts*, ii. 599-600, [1414, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March Household and Wardrobe Accounts], *Household Accounts*, ii. 437, [1434, Sir William Mountford of Kingshurst, Warwickshire Diet Accounts]; *A Small Household of the XVth Century*, ed. K. L. Wood-Legh (Manchester, 1965), 3, 9, 10, 24, 35, 47, 68 [1454-59, Diet Accounts]; *Manners and household expenses in the thirteenth and fifteenth*

certain entertainments were customary at Shrovetide, comparative methods have been employed. In other words, if an account notes payment for an entertainment at other occasions, but not at Shrovetide, and this pattern is repeated across several examples, then the activity was likely not customary to the season. Furthermore, findings from the better documented reigns of Henry VII and James IV can be compared to the sparser evidence from earlier in the medieval period to suggest continuity or break in festive traditions at court before the Reformation.

On 6 March 1207, the household of Hugh de Neville of Essex joined King John on his perambulations through Huntingdonshire, spending Shrove Tuesday with the court at Huntingdon before continuing to Cambridge the next day.[46] De Neville was master of the king's hounds and chief justice of the forests; his presence, and his surviving household accounts, give us our first indication of how the royal court observed Shrovetide. Provisions were made for the kennelling of the royal hounds, while the household dined on wild fowl and other game.[47] The Shrovetide association with hunting implied here is made more explicit in a writ issued by Henry III later the same century. On 30 January 1259 the king commanded his servants to travel to the forest of Essex and capture ten does for the king's pleasure at the coming feast of Shrove Tuesday.[48] The contemporary custom of knights hunting in the forests of Findon, Sussex every Shrove Tuesday, as discussed in a previous chapter, would suggest that hunting, and not just consuming venison, was a favoured Shrovetide pastime across the elite spectrum.[49] This pursuit of game also extended to hawking and falconry. The chief season for the two sports during the medieval period was winter, and the end of the hawking season

centuries ed. T. H. Turner (Roxburghe Club, 1841), 327, 385, 436, 488, [1465-6, John Howard, Duke of Norfolk Diet Accounts]; *Household books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481-90,* ed. J. P. Collier (Roxburghe Club, 1844), pp. 161, 360, 381, [1482-3, Household Accounts].

[46] Hugh de Neville's accounts can be compared to King John's itinerary to confirm that both were present at Huntington and Cambridge. For John's itinerary see *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati* ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commissioners, 1835).

[47] *Household Accounts*, i. 111.

[48] 'De damis capiendis ad opus regis: Rex mittit Hugonem le Franceys et Johannem le Naper, servientes regis, ad capiendum in foresta Essex decem damas ad opus regis contra instans festum Carniprivii.' *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1265-1259* (London: HMSO, 1932), 358.The use of *capio* may suggest the deer were to be taken to the king's park for sport and eventual consumption at Shrovetide, rather than slaughtered on the spot and transported as venison. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin in British Sources* defines *capio* as 'seizure', while Lewis and Short specify 'to catch, hunt down, take' when it is in reference to animals. Hunting to kill was usually specified by *venari*. The writ goes on to order the keeper of the forest to help with the task, so this may imply transportation for sport.

[49] C. F. Trower, 'Findon' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, Volume 26* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1875), 229-30, 255. On this custom see Chapter 1.

usually coincided with Shrovetide.[50] On the Thursday before the festival in 1286, for example, Edward I paid for guides to lead him to Chesham, Buckinghamshire where he could see his hawks fly. In 1278 three falconers and a small contingent of the court spent Shrovetide flying at cranes in Gloucestershire.[51] Elite household accounts suggest hunting and hawking maintained as Shrovetide pastimes throughout the medieval period, with the fresh fruits of the chase usually supplementing feasts.[52] Privy purse expenditures confirm James IV and Henry VIII continued these traditions, also favouring the festival as an occasion for the tangential sport of shooting.[53] While medieval elites may have hunted and consumed game throughout the year as a sign of their aristocratic status, Shrovetide was a particularly favoured occasion for the pastime. Households supplemented their low stores of salted beef and pork with fresh game and often took great pleasure in attaining it.

If Shrovetide hunting represented the rich man's version of cock-throwing, the same analogy could be drawn between tournaments and Shrovetide football. Differentiated from the sports of common folk by scale, skill, and materials, tournaments were martial exercises held to mark special occasions, the major feast days of the religious calendar, and for their own sake as wargames. But as Richard Barber and Juliet Barker point out in their survey of the subject: 'the most common date for tournaments of any size was Shrovetide'.[54] Like so many other customs practiced during Carnival, the Shrovetide tournament likely arose due to its calendrical position at the end of winter and the beginning of Lent. Since military campaigns were not traditionally

[50] During the reign of Edward I, royal hawkers often joined the court around Christmas and left sometime in February to return birds to their mews. Falconry started earlier and lasted longer, but by February or March the season was usually coming to a close: R. S. Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 94-6, 98- 101.

[51] Oggins, 95-6, 99.

[52] Game such as deer, rabbit, partridge, duck, woodcocks, and other wild fowl was served during Shrovetide in the households of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (1319), Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster (1373) Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury (1407) and Dame Alice de Bryene (1413). In 1527, Sir Thomas Lestrange's household supplemented their meals on Shrove Monday and Tuesday with mallards 'killed with the crossbow'. TNA: DL 28/1/14, Memb.2r. I am grateful to Martha Carlin for this reference. SC 6/1261/6, fos. 75r-v; *Household Accounts*, i. 336-8; *Household book of Dame Alice de Bryene*, 44-5; BL, Add. MS 27451, fo. 43r.

[53] Henry VIII rewarded servants for bringing bucks to the court during Shrovetide 1530 and 1532. He also gave 'Pero the Crosbow maker' 20s on Ash Wednesday 1531, perhaps in reward for facilitating his recreation during the festival: *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII*, ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas (London: W. Pickering, 1827), 26, 111, 193. In 1533 Henry VIII's menu for Shrove Monday and Tuesday banquets included various dishes of wild fowl alongside 'venson in paste', 'venyson in brewes' and 'jogons of venson': BL: Add. MS 45716 A, fos. 56v-57r. James IV frequently received hawks and falcons as gifts around Shrovetide and paid for crossbows to be transported: see for e.g. *TA*, ii. 135, 359, iii. 182, 368, iv. 105. Also Fig. 9 below. The 'Libri Emptorum' covering 1 Sep 1511-6 Aug 1512, the sole surviving book of household expenses from James IV's reign, shows small game like woodcocks and rabbit were consumed at Fastern's Eve, but also on most days: NRS: E 32/1/f.79r-80r.

[54] R. W. Barber and J. R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 173. Tuesday was also a traditional opening day for tournaments regardless of season: Ibid, 176.

conducted during the harsh winter months, troops were kept busy and sharp with wargames. Floating between February and March , Shrovetide signalled both the climax of this off-season and the recommencement of campaigning – an ideal occasion for jousts of war (*à outrance*) and peace (*à plaisance*).[55] By the thirteenth century, tournaments were also a standard feature of noble weddings, and as was the case with football, seasonal synchronicity of the two customs likely bound martial exhibitions even closer to Shrovetide.[56] Furthermore, Carnival nominally represented a last chance for tournaments before the Lenten fast, the church having forbidden violence during that season since the eleventh century.[57] Although knights were wont to break or bend this rule, Lent almost invariably marked a lull in tournaments down until the sport's final disappearance in the seventeenth century.[58]

Seasonal practicality may have played an important role in establishing the precedent of Shrovetide tournaments, but so too did the introduction of pageantry into the events. During the thirteenth century, the tournament began evolving from a widespread military exercise for the training of knights to a spectacular vehicle for noble display and prestige under strict royal control.[59] Considering the public nature of most Carnival celebrations, it is perhaps unsurprising to find our first concrete evidence of Shrovetide tournaments in Europe during this century. [60] In 1232, Henry III forbade a tournament scheduled to take place in Blyth on the 'Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday', with similar prohibitions following throughout the latter king's reign.[61] When Prince Edward came of age, royal patronage and participation

[55] Tournaments fought *a outrance* used weapons and armour of war, unsurprisingly with many casualties resulting. Combats *a plaisance* were primarily for entertainment purposes, using blunted weapons. See Barber and Barker, 212 for full definitions.
[56] Barber and Barker, 169-172.
[57] This was partly by way of the 'Truce of God', which suspended all warfare from Saturday until Monday, and (from 1042 onwards) during Lent, Advent and major feast days. These prohibitions were confirmed by various councils throughout the twelfth century, which expanded the number of prohibited days and targeted the grey-area of mock-warfare specifically. Significantly, Tuesday never became a prohibited day. See D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 6, 33-5.
[58] There were always exceptions. According to William Fitztephen, in twelfth century London it was customary to hold wargames every Sunday in Lent, with members of the court often observing and participating. Even into the thirteenth century, tournaments which began at Shrovetide would often carry on through Ash Wednesday or until Quadragesima Sunday, the original beginning of Lent. See for e.g. English Ash Wednesday tournaments in 1248 and 1249: Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 57; London: Longman, 1872–83), v. 17-18, 54–55.
[59] Barber and Barker, 29-37.
[60] Barber and Barker (p.173) attribute the first verifiable Carnival tournament to Italy, more precisely Venice in 1272. However, English examples can be found from at least forty years prior to this. There is even evidence to suggest William Marshal was tourneying on the eve of Lent in the late 1170s: Crouch, 34.
[61] *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1231-1234* (London: HMSO, 1905), 358. There is evidence of at least six Shrovetide tournaments fought or forbidden during Henry III's reign. See Figure 7.

in tournaments suddenly increased, with the promising warrior competing in a Shrovetide match at Bedford in 1268.[62] Edward I continued to stage Shrovetide tournaments in his own reign, but his son Edward II did not prove as enthusiastic.[63] Nonetheless, he was crowned on Shrove Sunday 1308, not long after his wedding to Isabella of France, and proclaimed a tournament at Stepney to celebrate both occasions. According to the chronicler of the *Annales Paulini*, Piers Gaveston feared his adversaries were plotting to have him killed at this event and beseeched the king to cancel it.[64] Regardless of the veracity of this claim, Gaveston's enemies did put tournaments to such use in 1312, utilising the events to muster an army which eventually captured and murdered the controversial royal favourite.[65] After these scarring incidents Edward II began banning tournaments, and the sponsorship of Shrovetide hastiludes fell to others. Household accounts of John Audley the Younger, for example, record provisions for a '*hastilud de Hereford*' on Shrove Sunday (February 10) 1320 (**Fig. 6)**, which the king probably did not attend or sanction.[66]

The accession of the chivalrously-minded Edward III to the throne soon brought tournaments firmly back into the royal remit. Shrovetide proved the single most popular seasonal festival for such events, with at least five of the king's many tournaments held during the Carnival season.[67] One of the more famous of these, staged at Dunstable in 1342, demonstrates how the seasonal setting could prove appropriate for specific political agendas. Bringing together Shrovetide themes of love and war, Edward III celebrated both the recent Anglo-Scottish truce and the betrothal of his son Lionel of Antwerp to the Countess of Ulster. Over the three days of Shrovetide, the court hosted hundreds of English knights, in one of the last recorded 'old-style tournaments' – a melee pitting two teams against each other in a free-for-all. However

[62] Other nobles at the tournament '*in Carniprivio*' included Reginald de Grey and Emery de Sancto Amando. 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward I, File 55', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 2, Edward I*, ed. J. E. E. S. Sharp (London, 1906), pp. 449-456. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol2/pp449-456 [accessed 29 April 2016].
[63] Barber and Barker, 31-2.
[64] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II: Volume 1, Annales Londonienses and Annales Paulini*, ed. W. Stubbs (1882), 259.
[65] Barber and Barker, 31; J. R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), 47.
[66] TNA: E 101/372/4. It is unlikely the king allowed or sponsored this tournament because prohibitions were sent out in January and February of that year and the king himself was making his way from York to London for the opening of Parliament. *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, A.D. 1318-1323* (London: HMSO, 1895), 219-24.
[67] While tournaments were more often clustered around the spring and summer months and the various feast days within them, Shrovetide was the most popular single festival for these chivalric pursuits during the king's long reign, followed by Christmas. See Figure 7 and Appendix C for details, and for comparison to tournaments at other occasions during Edward III's reign see the calendar in Vale, 172-4.

militaristic the event may have been, its spectacular nature is conveyed by the royal household's expenditure on it: £317 spent on Shrove Tuesday compared to £16 on Ash Wednesday.[68]

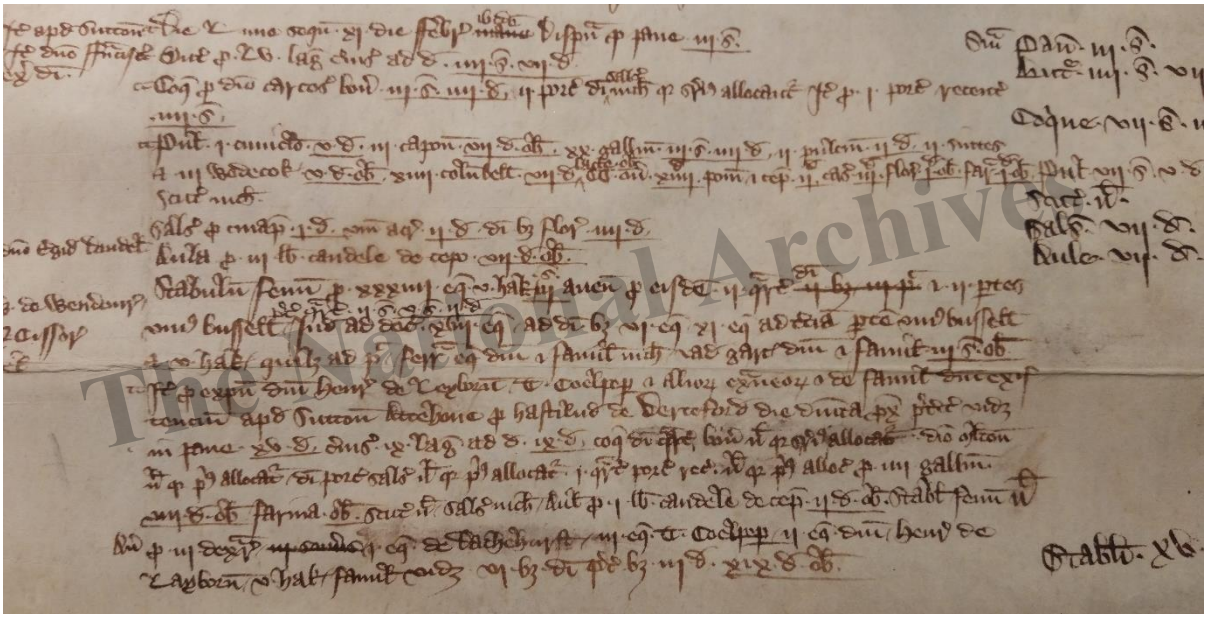


FIGURE 6 John Audley the Younger's household diet account for 9 February (Shrove Monday) 1320, including expenses 'for the tournament at Hereford on Sunday nearest past', TNA: E 101/372/4. Credit: Reproduced with kind permission from The National Archives, Kew.

Shrovetide tournaments took place in Richard II's reign as well, with one in 1386 providing the setting for yet another nefarious murder plot, this time against John of Gaunt.[69] The duke of Lancaster managed to escape, and the Shrovetide tradition continued with his son, Henry IV. Following in the footsteps of the three kings before him, the first Lancastrian king married his bride Joan of Navarre just prior to Septuagesima and had her crowned during Shrovetide 1403.[70] At the tournament held to celebrate the event, Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick jousted as the queen's champion. After 1403 no further evidence survives of Shrovetide tournaments at the English court until the reign of Henry VIII, when they suddenly re-emerge.

[68] Vale, 64-65. On the melee as the original form of tournaments see Barber and Barker, 2.
[69] According to the *Westminster Chronicle*, when the king 'held a tournament in Westminster Hall on 13 and 14 of February [Shrove Monday and Tuesday], a plot was hatched on the concluding night by some of the nobles…to murder the duke of Lancaster': *The Westminster Chronicle: 1381-1394*, eds. B. F. Harvey and L. C. Hector (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 111-2. The translators here translate 'carniprivium' as Lent, despite the dates given.
[70] Edward II and III both married in late January before Septuagesima Sunday. Edward II and Isabella were crowned together during Shrovetide, while Philippa of Hainault was crowned on the first Sunday in Lent (Quadregesima). Henry IV and Joan of Navarre were wed on February 7. Sources place the queen's coronation on February 26 (Shrove Monday), but by tradition coronations were usually on Sundays or other holy days.

This break in tradition coincides with what Barker and Barber have termed 'the end of the golden age of English tourneying'. By the fifteenth century tournaments had become prohibitively expensive for all but the wealthiest nobles, and therefore almost exclusively dependant on the patronage of the royal court. Concerned as they were with real and near constant warfare, neither the Lancastrians nor the Yorkists provided much support for what was by this time more pageant than military exercise.[71]

Although the Scottish court sponsored even fewer tournaments than the English during the fifteenth century, it is in Scotland that our next Shrovetide example can be found.[72] On Fastern's Eve, 1449 at Stirling Castle, three Burgundian knights fought three Scots from the Douglas clan, likely as part of negotiations for James II to marry a kinswoman of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy.[73] One of these Burgundian challengers, Jacques de Lalain, was particularly renowned for his participation in the fashionable *pas d'armes* of the Continent – elaborately staged and acted forms of hastilude involving fictive storylines. Despite this reputation, the Shrovetide combat was fought *à outrance*, and as at Dunstable in 1342 the spectacle centred not on pageantry but on rough fighting.[74] After 1449 no further evidence of Shrovetide tournaments in Scotland emerges until mid-way through the reign of James IV. Like Henry VIII, the latter king oversaw a sudden and marked revival of the custom. These breaks in tradition, spanning over one hundred years for England and fifty for Scotland, put Britain behind the rest of Europe in style and fashion, for Shrovetide remained the quintessential occasion for annual tournaments in many continental cities and princely courts throughout the fifteenth century.[75]

[71] Barker and Barber, 37.
[72] Katie Stevenson, in her work on chivalry and knighthood at the Stewart courts of James I, II, III, and IV, has found firm evidence of only three tournaments in the fifteenth century prior to James IV's reign (1488-1513): K. Stevenson, 'Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century Scotland, 1424-1513' (doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2003), 359 [Calendar of tournaments]. There is evidence, however, that the Scottish court supported and staged Shrovetide wargames as early as the reign of David II: M. A. Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2004), 86, 311. See also Figure 7.
[73] The Burgundian knights included Jacques de Lalain, Simon de Lalain and Hervey de Meriadet. The three Scots were James Douglas later ninth earl of Douglas, John Ross of Hawkhead and James Douglas of Ralstoun. Ultimately, marriage negotiations came to fruition and James II married Philip's niece, Mary of Gueldres, later that summer. For a full analysis of the tournament within the context of these events see Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 75-8.
[74] The original account of the combat, written by Jacques de Lalain's contemporary chronicler George Chastellain, is printed in *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), 33-38.
[75] Examples can be found in France, the Low Countries, Spain, Italy, Bohemia and especially Germany. See Barker and Barber, 58, 60, 69, 109, 162, 173, 176, 177, 189; M. G. A. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-west Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 194, 197-9; Mand, 238-48.

Year	Reign	Kingdom	Location	Year	Reign	Kingdom	Location
1232	Henry III	England	Blyth	1320	Edward II	England	Hereford
1248	Henry III	England	Newbury	1328	Edward III	England	York
1249	Henry III	England	Northampton	1329	Edward III	England	Guildford
1249	Henry III	England	Blyth	1341	Edward III	England	Norwich
1265	Henry III	England	Dunstable	1342	Edward III	England	Dunstable
1268	Henry III	England	Bedeford	1342	David II	Scotland	Aberdeen
1280	Edward I	England	Dunstable	1348	Edward III	England	Unknown
1286	Edward I	England	Croydon	1386	Richard II	England	Westminster
1292	Edward I	England	Dunstable	1403	Henry IV	England	Westminster
1308	Edward II	England	Stepney	1449	James II	Scotland	Stirling

FIGURE 7 Evidence of Shrovetide tournaments planned or staged in Britain before 1500. For sources see Appendix C.

Part and parcel to every Shrovetide tournament or hunt noted thus far was the banquet which followed it. From the first extant household dietary accounts in the thirteenth century forward, records show elite and royal expenditure on Shrovetide fare typically ranked only behind that for Christmastide. Edward III’s expenses for the festival in 1342 have already been noted, and to this can be added examples from his grandfather’s reign. In 1286, Edward I’s household kitchen spent over £40 on each day of Shrovetide, surpassing the expenses for Twelfth Night, New Year, and trailing only Christmas Day itself.[76] Three years later, Edward I’s kitchen expended over £100 on Shrove Tuesday alone, second once again only to the expenses of Christmas Day.[77] Accounts of smaller elite households show the festival endured as an occasion of high significance and heavy expenditure throughout the period.[78] By the reign of Henry VIII, Shrovetide had become synonymous with the royal banquet, with the heading of an ordinance in a contemporary book of ceremony illustrating its prototypical status: ‘At

[76] *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286*, 128.
[77] *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289*, 515.
[78] See for e.g. the accounts of John de Multon, Nicholas de Litlington abbot of Westminster, and Richard Mitford bishop of Salisbury, where Shrovetide expenditure was some of the highest of the year: *Household Accounts*, i. 245; TNA: SC 6/1261/6, fos. 75r-v; *Household Accounts*, i. 337-8. Elizabeth Kunz has calculated that Shrove Sunday was the fourth costliest feast day of the year for gentlewoman Alice de Bryene in 1412-13, behind New Year’s Day, Christmas Day and Easter: ‘Hospitality, Conviviality, and the English Gentry: Social Networks of the Landed Elite in Late Medieval Suffolk’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, Ann Arbor, 2001), 210, 217-8.

Schroftide or ani other time when the king dothe bankkate'.[79] Expenditure levels listed in the royal household's diet accounts confirm this position, with similar provision evident in the household accounts of James IV and V of Scotland.[80]

Dignitaries both foreign and local often graced such feasts, and political posturing took place across tables laden with food and drink. The Stirling tournament and banquet in 1449 was attended by 'great lords, knights and other people…fully four or five thousand men'. According to the account, the 'king feasted them very grandly, and gave them honourable gifts for which they thanked him'.[81] Over two hundred years earlier, in 1235, another betrothal was arranged through a series of Shrovetide gift exchanges, with Henry III's sister Isabella matched to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II.[82] Elites conveyed their magnificence on these occasions through gifts and high expense, but also through prestige dishes.[83] Swans were provided for the Shrovetide feasts of Thomas, earl of Lancaster (1319), Abbot Nicholas de Litlington of Westminster (1373), Bishop Richard Mitford of Salisbury (1407), Dame Alice de Bryene (1413), and Sir Thomas L'Estrange (1527).[84] Alice de Bryene also feasted upon heron on Shrove Monday and Tuesday, and Henry VIII did the same in 1533.[85] James IV of Scotland received peacocks from the Abbot of Scone during Shrovetide 1502, and his son James V dined

[79] Fiona Kisby, 'Religious Ceremonial at the Tudor Court: Extracts from Royal Household Regulations' in I. W. Archer and S. Adams (eds.), *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-century England* (Camden Fifth ser., 22; Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 15.

[80] Level of expenditure can be tracked in the account books of the controllers and cofferers of the Tudor household held in TNA, many of which are in the digital archive assembled by Robert C. Palmer, Elspeth K. Palmer, and Susanne Jenks, The Anglo-American Legal Tradition available at aalt.law.uh.edu/aalt.html, hereafter AALT. Some examples of Henry VIII's high Shrovetide expenditure include TNA: E 101/416/15 (AALT IMG 0095) [1510]; E 101/418/16 (AALT IMG 0245_1) [1519]; E 101/420/8 (AALT IMG 0233_1) [1529]. For the Scottish court Shrovetide expenditure was not as heavy, but the feast was clearly observed. James V's household books made note of 'festum Carnisprivium' every year. For James IV see NRS: E 32/1/fo.79r-80r [1512]. For James V see e.g. E 31/1, unfoliated but proceeds by date (Shrovetide, 1526 = Feb. 11-13); E 31/3/fo. 55v-56r [1530].

[81] *Early Travellers*, 38.

[82] Peter de Vinea presented the king with a gift on Shrove Saturday to open discussions, and the betrothal was finalised on Ash Wednesday when the king gave a silver chalice to the emperor in return. The court entertained throughout Shrovetide, for the king received a gilded silver cup from a French abbot on Shrove Tuesday: N. Vincent, 'An Inventory of Gifts to King Henry III, 1234-5', in D. Crook (ed.) *The Growth of Royal Government Under Henry III* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 132; B. L. Wild, 'A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III', *English Historical Review* 125, 514 (2010), 557, 559.

[83] It is possible to discern which dishes carried prestige by the rarity with which they appear in accounts and the occasions on which they were served. Large birds, for e.g., were uncommon. From 1406-7 the bishop of Salisbury served swans fourteen times, nine of these during Christmastide, Candlemas and Shrove Tuesday. *Household Accounts*, i. 268-9, 275, 312-14, 316-17, 319-20, 324, 331, 334, 338, 419. Alice de Bryene likewise only dined on five swans and six herons during the year 1412-3. One of those swans and two of the herons were served during Shrovetide. Kunz, 217-8.

[84] TNA: DL 28/1/14, Memb.2r; SC 6/1261/6, fos. 75r-v; *Household Accounts*, i. 337-8; *Household book of Dame Alice de Bryene*, 44-5; BL: Add. MS 27451, f. 43r.

[85] *Household book of Dame Alice de Bryene*, 44-5; BL: Add. MS 45716 A, fos. 56v-57r.

on swan in Edinburgh, 1526.[86] Aristocrats clearly continued to follow Gervase of Tilbury's advice, offered in the early thirteenth century, that 'rich fare' was 'customarily required for so great a feast' as Shrove Tuesday.[87]

The spirit of sport and competition evident in the Shrovetide hunt and tourney seems to have dissipated little when elites turned from their food to other indoor amusements. The detailed wardrobe accounts of Edmund Mortimer (1413-1414) illustrate this succinctly, recording the movements and activities of the twenty-three-year-old earl of March – a frequent companion to Henry V. About two weeks before Shrovetide, Mortimer paid for eighteen cocks while staying in Daventry, losing large sums of money on the resultant cock-fighting match the next day. Mortimer spent the rest of Shrovetide at the king's castle of Kenilworth, spending more money on cock-fights, buying new weapons and horses, and frequently playing table games. The earl's shroving was an expensive venture, and his gambling losses alone (£46 plus) outstripped his expenses at the Christmas court earlier that year. Entertainments probably included music as well as sport, for the accounts record payments for 'harpe strynges'. The earl travelled to Ludlow soon after Shrove Tuesday, and his movements imply that Shrovetide was celebrated as a distinct and sometimes extended festive season at court during this time.[88]

Edmund Mortimer's accounts are near-unique in their survival and level of detail, and his expenses reflect the rather atypical lifestyle of a young and wealthy bachelor. Nonetheless, his choice of Shrovetide entertainment was not outside the medieval norm. As we have already seen in a previous chapter, cock-fighting was pervasive in medieval and early modern English grammar schools, universities, elite circles and the royal court on Shrove Tuesday.[89] Henry VII and James IV's accounts also show dice, cards and music continued to be popular Shrovetide amusements.[90] The latter music probably prompted informal dancing, for as James Barbour wrote in the late fourteenth century, 'fastyns eve' was a customary time for 'singing, dancing

[86] *TA*, ii. 135; NRS: E 31/1 Book not foliated but proceeds by date (Shrovetide, 1526 = Feb. 11-13).
[87] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 754-5.
[88] *Household Accounts*, ii. 599-600.
[89] By the Tudor period royal patronage of the sport was such that Henry VII's chamber accounts record payments in 1493 'to them that brought cokkes at Shrovetide at Westminster', and by 1533 a permanent cockpit had been installed at the royal palace of Greenwich. Anglo, 'Court Festivals of Henry VII', 28; Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 13, 15.
[90] Henry VII's chamber treasurer paid out 33s 4d to 'Weston for the Kinges losse at disse opon Srove Monday' in 1502: Anglo, 'Court Festivals of Henry VII', 38. Likewise, on 'Fasteringis Evin' in 1497, James IV was given a large purse of £27 to 'play at cartis in Edinburgh with the Chancelare': *TA*, i. 320.

and otherwise playing'.[91] Hinting at the same, one entry in an Irish chronicle describes the death of a member of the Anglo-Irish Butler family in 1417, slain whilst dancing on Shrove Tuesday night.[92] Medieval records, however, do not suggest that this Shrovetide dancing moved beyond the informal before 1500.

Around the turn of the sixteenth century, James IV's court began regularly staging morris dances and other mimetic productions at Fastern's Eve. An ordinance for the Tudor royal household, tentatively dated to the late 1490s by scholars, likewise provided for a play at the king's discretion on Shrove Tuesday night. Henry VII apparently rarely exercised such discretion, but Henry VIII certainly did, with Shrovetide plays and masques recorded throughout his reign. In short, examples of Shrovetide mimetic spectacle proliferate after 1500. But while there are a few medieval examples of British Shrovetide drama in civic and ecclesiastic contexts, neither royal nor other elite records show much sign of such a tradition prior to the 1490s. Initial answers for this discrepancy could include the uneven distribution of sources between the two periods, or a potential rise in the popularity of drama and masques at all seasons and occasions during this time. Both theories prove insufficient for several reasons. For one, a comparatively abundant amount of evidence survives showing an unbroken tradition of Christmastide mimetic spectacle at the English court from the start of the fourteenth century onwards. [93] The tradition was evidently popular among the wider nobility as well, for starting in the beginning of the fifteenth century payments for Christmas disguisings and players appear in various household accounts.[94] The Scottish court maintained a similar Yuletide tradition,

[91] Although the poem refers to common soldiers, Shrovetide music and dancing was presumably a familiar enough custom to English and Scottish elites c. 1375 for Barbour's courtly audience to appreciate the reference: John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (London: OUP, 1968), i. 242. Dame Alice de Bryene's household was entertained by a harpist on Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday, as well as a minstrel in the week leading up to Shrovetide. Both such musicians were rarities at the gentlewoman's house, and they illustrate the festival's special association with music and entertainment during the fifteenth century: Kunz, 212.

[92] 'Piers son of James son of Edmund Butler, who would have been Earl of Ormond, was killed on the night of Shrove Tuesday, in the house of Donnchad Oirech Mac Gilla Patraic in Ossory, by Donnchad's blacksmith while they were dancing.' *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until c. 1642*, ed. A. J. Fletcher (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), 569.

[93] The first definitive evidence dates to 1303, when three clerks from Windsor were provisioned with costumes from the royal wardrobe for an Epiphany interlude before the Prince of Wales, the future Edward II: P. Greenfield, 'South Warnborough, Hampshire 1302-3'. *REED Pre-publication Collections* https://reedprepub.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/swarnboroughprepub1.pdf. [accessed 26/8/18]. Christmastide mimetic traditions are evident at the courts of all successive medieval English monarchs, save those of Edward IV and Richard III. Evidence for this is compendious, but for a collection of some of these references see I. Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), xiv-xxiv, nos. 632-6, 638, 740 771, 928, 1510, 1512, *passim*. From Henry VII forward there is evidence for Christmastide mimetic revels at court almost every year. See Appendix C.

[94] For e.g. Richard Mitford bishop of Salisbury's Epiphany disguisings and Candlemas plays (1406-7): *Household Accounts*, i. 414, 419-20; Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Warwick (1420-1): Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and*

with many examples from the successive reigns of James II, III, and IV.[95] If a comparable tradition existed at Shrovetide, then some financial traces would presumably survive parallel to those at Christmastide. This is certainly the case for princely courts elsewhere in Europe, many of which show signs of a developed tradition of Carnival court drama and masking from early in the fifteenth century.[96] As the preceding survey has demonstrated, the absence of such traces in Britain cannot be ascribed to a dearth of source materials for Shrovetide, nor to a lack of Carnival celebration in general. Instead, aristocratic Shrovetide celebrations in Britain, like those of the common folk, seem to have focused predominately on food and sport, rather than mimetic customs. The proliferation of Shrovetide mimetic forms in England and Scotland in the sixteenth century at the court and elsewhere, therefore suggests a significant shift in tradition which will be explored further below.

Shrovetide was a major festival in medieval elite households, with celebration characterized by heavy expenditure on food, drink and entertainment. Certain activities remained constant through time, such as feasting, hunting, hawking, shooting, cards and dice, and secular music. While all the latter were standard aristocratic recreations throughout the year, cock-fighting and tournaments were more closely associated with Shrovetide. The relatively inexpensive cock-fight continued unabated at the medieval royal court, but the Shrovetide tournament, which had been a fairly regular event in the fourteenth century, all but disappeared in the fifteenth. Certainly, when more plentiful sources from Henry VII and James IV's reigns become available they do not suggest that the old tradition had been maintained in Britain.[97] The sixteenth-century re-emergence of sustained traditions of Shrovetide tournaments under James IV (1503-1506) and Henry VIII (1516-1527), therefore appears a case of re-introduction,

Records, no. 372; Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham (1443-4): *Compota Domestica Familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angouleme*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836), 23; Lady Morley circa 1459: Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 251; John Howard, duke of Norfolk (1465-6, 1481-2, 1482-3, 1490-1); Sir John Arundell 1466-7, Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 824; Sir William Stonor (1481-2), Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 1423.

[95] Pertinent evidence survives from the Exchequer for the following years 1446, 1447-8, 1465-6, 1466-7, 1475-6, 1476-7. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, v. 266, 318; vii. 423, 501; viii. 333, 404, 512. In the reign of James IV mimetic spectacles (usually disguisings or kings of the bean) were paid for most Yuletides in the treasurer's accounts: *TA*, i. 126-8, 184, 233, 270, 308-9, 374-5; ii. 131-2, 353-4, 413-4; iii. 313, 359, 361; iv. 100.

[96] See for e.g. A. Rosie, 'Ritual, Chivalry and Pageantry: The Courts of Anjou, Orleans and Savoy in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989), 173, 181, 185-6, 189, 195, 198-9, 207.

[97] Henry VII staged at least fourteen tournaments during his rule; only one of these fell in February and it was not held at Shrovetide. James IV likewise held at least four tournaments in the 1490s, and none of them at Shrovetide. Thus, even when evidence of tournaments survives from the fifteenth century, it does not suggest Shrovetide remained a popular occasion for such events.

just as the rise of mimetic spectacles under these same monarchs appears a case of innovation. The next sections examine these shifts in tradition more closely to ascertain why they occurred.

Creating Cosmopolitan Courts: The Rise of Shrovetide Drama in the Sixteenth Century

Our oldest known references to Shrovetide drama at British courts come from the reigns of Henry VII and James III respectively. In England, a Tudor household book of ceremony dated to the 1490s required the gentleman usher to inquire if it would be the king's 'pleasure to have a plaie on Shroff Tewsdaie at night' and to make necessary preparations if so.[98] In Scotland, exchequer rolls record a payment of £6 to one Patrick Johnson 'pro suis ludis tempore Natalis et Carnisprivii' before the king in 1476.[99] Despite this evidence neither king seems to have sponsored drama or disguisings at Shrovetide with any frequency or regularity, despite abundant evidence of such expenditure at Christmastide. This changed drastically during the reigns of their sons. Under Henry VIII, the performance of Shrovetide mimetic revels at court grew from an ad hoc whim to an annual tradition expected and duly prepared for by a permanent government organization, a development illustrated by **Figure 8**. Similar patterns can be discerned at James IV's court, though the shift took place midway through the reign. As illustrated by **Figure 9**, James IV spent the early Fastern's Eves of his rule in the medieval British model: outside with falconry, hunting and shooting, and indoors with games, feasting and music. After 1500 these were increasingly accompanied by magnificent and expensive mimetic spectacles and tournaments.[100]

[98] On the dating of this household book of ceremonial to between 1493 and 1500 see Kisby, 'Religious Ceremonial', 8.

[99] *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, viii. 333. Patrick Johnson performed 'jocis', plays and interludes before the Scottish court on other occasions, but scholarly opinions differ over whether the latter payment actually refers to mimetic performance, or the sports and games more typical of medieval British Shrovetide. Stevenson interprets them as games, while Ian Lancashire classifies them as drama: Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 89-90; Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 1658.

[100] Again, it is not enough to say that this was due simply to an increased interest in revels across the board at all seasons. James IV celebrated Yuletide with mimetic spectacle in his early reign. The later change was, therefore, one of seasonal occasion as well as scale.

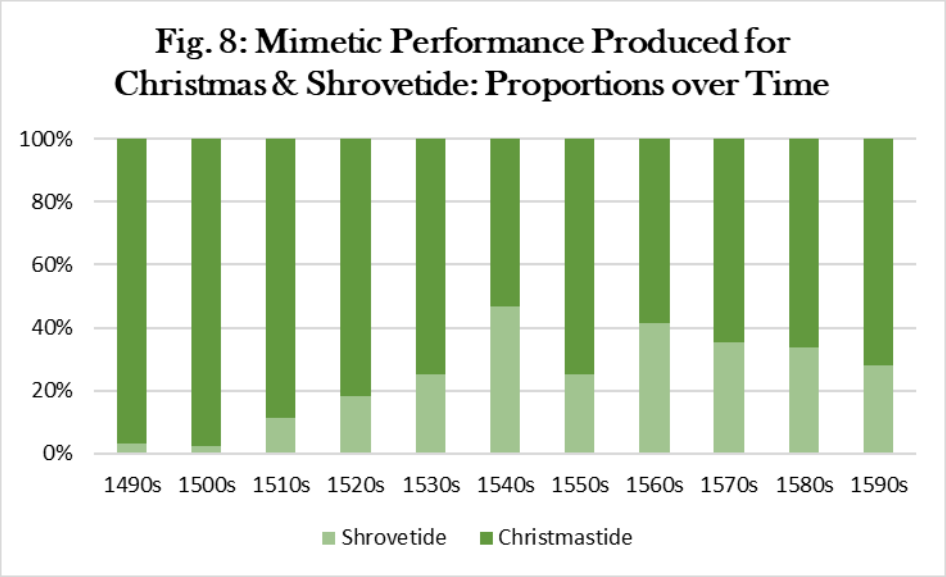


FIGURE 8 This chart shows the growth of Shrovetide mimetic productions at the English court over time by comparing the numbers of plays and masques prepared and/or performed each decade for Christmas and Shrovetide. Viewing this proportionally allows the inclusion of those decades where evidence for revels is slight (e.g. 1530s and 1550s). It should be borne in mind that these figures have not been weighted based on the length of each season (12 days versus 3), making the Shrovetide results for the 1540s even more striking.

Three main hypotheses can be put forward for this sudden appearance of mimetic Shrovetide revels at both the English and Scottish courts. First it must be recognized that this courtly trend appears part of a larger one taking place in Britain at the time. Carnival masking customs and theatrical genres (e.g. French sotties; German Fastnachtspiel) are well-attested elsewhere in Europe prior to the sixteenth century. Theatre historians have searched for medieval equivalents in Britain with limited success, finding little evidence of folk drama or institutionally sponsored productions at Shrovetide.[101] Nonetheless, a handful of examples do exist, and in their survival perhaps suggest a more widespread British observance. The oldest and most recently discovered comes from the bursar's accounts of St. Mary Graces Abbey in London, recording in 1392 a payment of five shillings 'to the parish clerks of London for a play on Shrove Tuesday'.[102] To this can be added the extensively studied yet problematic 'Gladman's riding' of Norwich in 1443.[103] Perhaps more indicative of a burgeoning, if not

[101] For a recent summary of this search see T. Pettitt, '*Carnevale* in Norwich, 1443: Gladman's Parade and its Continental Connections', *Medieval English Theatre*, 39 (2017), 35-76.
[102] *REED: Ecclesiastical London*, ed. M. C. Erler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 20, 326.
[103] The disguised procession at this riding did not actually take place during Shrovetide and its association with 'Fastyngham Tuesday' perhaps points towards the civic processions and pageantry found in other British medieval cities and discussed in Chapter 2, rather than any widespread dramatic traditions. See Pettitt, '*Carnevale*'.

already flourishing tradition of Shrovetide drama is the morality play *Mankind*, which most scholars now agree was prepared for a Shrovetide performance in East Anglia circa 1471.[104] Paired with the above-mentioned records from the Scottish court in 1476, and the English in the 1490s, these all hint at a growing trend of British Shrovetide drama in the fifteenth century.

Ongoing research efforts like the REED project will probably find additional evidence for medieval British Shrovetide theatre in the future. Nevertheless, we should perhaps temper expectations for a landslide of fifteenth-century examples, and not just because of the relative paucity of sources. As shown in the previous two chapters, medieval Brits were quite busy with other forms of play and pageantry during Shrovetide, and institutions may simply have been uninterested in sponsoring theatrical productions in addition or in substitution for other activities. Surviving records seem capable of illustrating obviously theatrical traditions at other times of the year, and therefore could presumably do the same for Shrovetide if these existed in any abundance.[105] Such records only appear for Shrovetide with any regularity in the sixteenth century, as one by one the 'provincial courts' of universities, inns of court, grammar schools and elite households sponsored drama during the festival.[106] By the time of the establishment of permanent London playhouses in the 1570s, Shrove Tuesday was the de jure end of the playing season, probably based on an old de facto position.[107] And by the seventeenth century, Shrovetide and theatre had become so wedded in England that playhouses were celebrated destinations for Shrove Tuesday revellers and rioters alike, and the festival was

[104] T. Pettitt, '*Mankind*: An English *Fastnachtspiel?*', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 190-202; J. A. Geck, '"On yestern day, in Feverere, the yere passeth fully": On the Dating and Prosopography of Mankind', *Early Theatre*, 12.2 (2009), 33–56.

[105] Christmastide is the most helpful measuring stick here: bountiful evidence survives from the thirteenth century forward of all manner of theatrical and quasi-theatrical activities during the Christmas season – liturgical and popular, institutional and individual. For examples, see Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, passim.

[106] This nationwide trend is observable in colleges of Oxford University (Lincoln College, 1513), Cambridge University (1533), noble households (Earl of Northumberland, 1526), clerical households (Prior More, 1521), civic corporations (Hatfield Broad Oak, 1556), grammar schools (Winchester College, 1565), and the Inns of Court (1562). See *REED: Oxford*, eds. J. R. Elliott, Jr, A. F. Johnston, A. H. Nelson, and D. Wyatt, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), ii. 846-852; *REED: Cambridge*, ed. A. H. Nelson, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), i. 104; ii. 963-76; *The Regulations and Establishment of the Houshold of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at His Castles of Wresill and Lekinfield in Yorkshire. Begun Anno Domini M.D.XII*, ed. T. Percy (London, 1770), 345; *REED: Herefordshire and Worcestershire*, ed. D. N. Klausner Lancashire, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 470; Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 755, 1269; M. Wiggins and C. Richardson, *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue. Vol. 1, 1533-1566* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 419; *REED: Inns of Court*, eds. A. H. Nelson and J. R. Elliott Jr, 3 vols (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), ii. 757-61. Records of Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court provide the best evidence of a true sixteenth-century boom in Shrovetide drama, for prior to 1500 occasions for plays are periodically documented, but only at Christmas or Candlemas.

[107] Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 1107.

immortalized as the titular subject of such works as Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* and William Haskins' grammar school play *Apollo's Shroving*.

The connection between Shrovetide theatre and educational institutions, reflected in Haskins' play, informs the first hypothesis for the sixteenth century boom in British Carnival mimesis at court: the spread of humanism. Shrove Tuesday had been the celebrated scholar's holiday for centuries, but all records suggest cock-fighting and football were the medieval orders of the day. As discussed in Chapter 1, the introduction of humanism into British educational establishments of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries brought reforms and additions to Shrovetide practice, principally a new emphasis on drama and verse. This tripartite relationship between school plays, Shrovetide and classical humanism was evidently well-established by Elizabeth's reign. Five of the six recorded court performances of the London Merchant Taylor's schoolboys from 1573-1583, for example, occurred during Shrovetide, and all extant play names suggest classical themes.[108] Boys from St Paul's, Westminster, Windsor Chapel and the Royal Chapel all frequently performed classical drama for Elizabeth's Shrovetide court as well. Going back further, the first classical play ever recorded at court, a 'goodly comedy of Plautus' was staged on Shrove Monday 1519, and likely by the Children of the Royal Chapel under the direction of William Cornish.[109] In fact, all known Shrovetide plays, and some disguisings, at Henry VIII's court were performed either by chapels of the king or Cardinal Wolsey, as opposed to adult playing companies.[110] The choir schools of Tudor chapels were not synonymous with grammar schools, but choristers did usually receive additional education in the 'scoole of facet', particularly Latin.[111] Moreover, chapels were essential symbols of princely magnificence and piety in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Courtiers competed over the most talented musicians and raced to promote the latest artistic forms and fashions in these household establishments.[112] It is therefore likely that the widespread humanist reforms and additions to Shrovetide recreation found purchase in such institutions and, combined with the Renaissance 'cultural arms-race', helped shape the festival into an annual occasion for theatrical display in elite British households and courts.

[108] The sixth was performed at Candlemas. This correlation likely extends in part from the fact that grammar schools were often on holiday during the Christmas season, but not during Candlemas and Shrovetide.
[109] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 101.
[110] The fifth earl of Northumberland's 'Play befor his Lordship uppon Shroftewsday at night yerely' in the 1520s was also the responsibility of his chapel: *Regulations and Establishment*, 345.
[111] Kisby, 'Royal Household Chapel', 103-110.
[112] On this see Kisby, 'Royal Household Chapel'.

Cultural competition is even more evident in the simultaneous rise of Shrovetide disguisings, morris dances, and masques during the reigns of Henry VIII and James IV. Unlike drama which was mostly performed by patronized professionals or contracted amateurs, the latter revels involved the court more directly through the participation of princes and courtiers, and the provision of necessary materials. As previously discussed, European princely courts outside Britain were staging disguisings and other mimetic spectacles during Carnival from at least the early fifteenth century. The sudden British adoption of continental forms of spectacle at Shrovetide in addition to Christmas therefore points towards the second hypothesis: that the rise of Shrovetide spectacle was the product of deliberate efforts by princes and courtiers to create internationally relevant courts through cultural appropriation and innovation.

Year	**Fastern's Eve Expenses before 1500 (e.g.)**	**£ Scots**	**Year**	**Fastern's Eve Expenses after 1500 (e.g.)**	**£ Scots**
1491	'to a man of Lord Drummondis that brocht a goysshalk to the King' (*TA*, i. 175)	36s	**1502**	'to the men that brocht in the morice dance, and to their menstrales' (*TA*, ii. 135)	42s
	'a hors to Stirling that makis [brings] the corse bows' (*TA*, i. 175)	£4	**1503**	'turnaying at Fasteringis evin' total expenses (*TA*, ii. 202, 363)	£10 19s
1497	'to play at cartis in Edinburgh with the Chancelare' (*TA*, i. 320)	£27	**1505**	'for xii cotis and xii pair hos half Scottis blak half quhit to xii dansaris be the More taubronaris devis agane Fasteringis Evin, be the Kingis command' (*TA*, ii. 477)	£13 2s
	'giffin to Pate Priour, that brocht a goshalk to the King' (*TA*, i. 320)	9s		'tournaying at Fasteringis Evin' total expenses (*TA*, ii. 476-7, 479)	¬£19
1498	'to tua minstralis in Sterling' (*TA*, i. 380)	45s	**1506**	'justing agane Fasteringis evin' total expenses (*TA*, iii. 182-3)	¬£16
			1508	'Franch menstrales that made ane dans in the Abbay…for their dancing cotis to the said dans' total (*TA*, iv. 104).	£14 8s
			1512	'to Gilleam, tabernar, for ane dans to the King and Quene, and for necessaris thairto' (*TA*, iv. 331).	£11 4s

FIGURE 9 This table compares James IV's treasury expenditure during Shrovetide (the week of Fastern's Eve) in the first ten years of his reign versus in the final ten years of his reign. These examples suggest the king sponsored more diverse, spectacular and expensive Shrovetide revels after 1500, with a new emphasis on tournament and formal dance.

Some indication of this process can be gleaned from the works of William Dunbar, a poet resident at the Scottish court from 1501-1513. Two of his poems pertain to Fastern's Eve and

were perhaps performed at court for the occasion.[113] Together they encapsulate the feast's dual natures of love and war. Mixing sexual innuendo, blatant vulgarity and moral admonishment, *To the Queen* addresses a high-status woman, probably Queen Margaret, while she takes her fill 'Of Venus feest'. It tells of the carnal misadventures of the lady's household men 'latt this Fasterennis Evin' in visiting brothels and contracting 'the Spanyie pockis', ending with a warning to young men to avoid prostitutes. More pertinent to court revelry, *A Fastern's Eve in Hell* recounts in three parts a dream which Dunbar had on 'Februar the fyiftene nycht' of the devil's celebrations in hell 'Aganis the feist of Fasternis Evin'. Described with sardonic and frequently scatological invective, the diabolic entertainments include a disguising of the seven deadly sins performed by puffed-up gallants, a Highland pageant of annoyingly noisome Gaelic-speakers, and a climactic farcical tournament between two cowardly artisans emblematic of Shrovetide – a tailor and shoemaker.[114]

Both poems coincide with the suggested flourishing of Fastern's Eve tournaments and disguisings at the Scottish court in the early 1500s and were likely products of it.[115] *To the Queen*, and some other Dunbar works draw attention to the former English princess Margaret's influence in said flourishing, while *A Fastern's Eve in Hell* suggests the new-fangled nature of the Shrovetide disguising and its foreign origin. In the latter piece the devil orders the courtly gallants 'To mak thair observance' for the feast day:

> He bad [told] gallandis ga graith [make] a gyis
> And kast up gamountis [cavorting/dancing] in the skyis
> That last [recently] came out of France.[116]

The treasurer's accounts largely bear out this poetic evidence: in the years after James IV and Margaret Tudor's royal wedding of August 1503, foreign musicians and members of the household often performed and devised the Scottish court's seasonal revels. Before the political

[113] John Conlee and other Dunbar scholars have argued based on textual and stylistic evidence that these humorous poems were likely performed before the court, probably during Shrovetide celebrations: William Dunbar, *The Complete Works*, ed. J. Conlee (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), 10.
[114] Dunbar, nos. 70 and 77.
[115] If *To the Queen* is indeed addressed to Margaret, then it can be dated after August 1503. If the interior dating of 15 February in *A Fastern's Eve in Hell* is literal and not symbolic, then it can be dated to 1507, when Shrove Monday was on 15 February.
[116] Dunbar, 162. Dunbar's poem *A Dance in the Queen's Chamber* also refers to French dancing fashions. Dunbar, no. 56.

marriage, seasonal spectacles were quite traditional: every Yuletide a household musician (usually Scottish) was appointed King of the Bean and provided with livery for a dance on Uphaly Day (Epiphany), while local guisers were often brought in to perform. After the arrival of Margaret, however, the treasurer's accounts no longer record Kings of the Bean and instead show the court participating in and controlling production of revels much more directly. During the queen's first Yuletide in Scotland, for instance, over £54 pounds were spent on the materials and performance of a 'moris dans' on Epiphany which included several members of the court. Tellingly, the dance and costumes were designed by 'Franch Maister Johne', a newly-arrived doctor of obvious national origins.[117] Thereafter, dancing coats and other materials were often provided at the treasury's expense and talented individuals of (usually) foreign origin appointed to devise significant revels.

This was especially the case for Shrovetide. On Shrove Sunday 1508, the king rewarded twelve French crowns to the 'Franch menstrales that made ane dans in the Abbay', providing also 'for their dancing cotis to the said dans'.[118] Guilliam the drummer was responsible for devising a Shrovetide dance in February 1512, and 'ane fars play to the King and Quenis Gracis in the Abbay' earlier that same month.[119] A twelve-part disguising for Fastern's Eve 1505 was a 'devis' of the 'More taubronaris', with fabric supplied by the king's wardrobe.[120] This Moorish drummer evidently joined the royal household after 1503, as did other musicians of continental origin.[121] It is possible some of these musicians traveled with the princess from England, but equally possible they joined a court that was becoming increasingly cosmopolitan after her arrival. Margaret Tudor and her retinue were thus obvious catalysts of change at the Scottish court: the new methods and means of revel production suggest English influence, with continental, and usually French talent prompting new forms of revelry and dance.

Changes in occasion cannot be attributed to outside factors alone, however, for James IV's interest in Shrovetide spectacle predated the English princess's arrival in Scotland by over a year and a half. Instead it appears a symptom of James IV's increased stature on the world

[117] *TA*, ii. 413-4.
[118] *TA*, iv. 104.
[119] *TA*, iv. 330-1. The name is of French origin, but a 'Guilliam the taubronar' had been in the king's household since as early as 1496 (*TA*, i. 280).
[120] *TA*, ii. 477. Stevenson conflates the 'More taubronar' with Peter More, a different person who left the king's household in August 1504 (*TA*, ii. 450), and therefore before the 1505 Fastern's Eve performance. *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 90.
[121] *TA*, ii. Cviii-cxi. The 'More taubronar' is first recorded in 1504, receiving livery (*TA*, ii. 329).

stage as negotiations for the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between Scotland and England proceeded apace. Yuletide revels were the traditional norm, but in the period following the papal dispensation for the marriage in 1500, when the marriage-alliance seemed all but affirmed, the treasury accounts show signs of more frequent and extravagant revels outside the context of Yule.[122] Indeed, the first recorded Fastern's Eve mimetic spectacle at James IV's court, a morris dance, was staged less than two weeks after the treaty was sealed with proxy marriage and celebrated with lavish revels at the court of Henry VII.[123] It is in this context that Scottish interest in Shrovetide spectacle appears to have developed, as the king used a fuller and more diverse calendar of court revels to begin cultivating a cosmopolitan and culturally competitive court.

Like James IV, Henry VII and his son often adopted foreign fashions into their court revels and other cultural investments. As Gordon Kipling has convincingly demonstrated, Henry VII's pageant-disgusings and tournaments were highly influenced by Burgundian style and form, particularly in later years.[124] But as emphasized above, these new-fangled forms and themes were staged upon otherwise normative seasonal occasions – principally Christmas and May. Henry VIII, on the other hand, not only sought new forms of disguisings and masques but also had them staged on seasonal occasions relatively unaccustomed to drama at the English court, like Carnival. Significantly, the occasion would have been the norm and expectation for other Europeans present. Even without spoken parts or central plots, many disguisings and masques clearly emphasized the exotic and catered to international audiences of diplomats. The Shrovetide revels of 1519 are particularly illustrative of this. Staged for the entertainment of French hostages, who were at court as collateral for the turnover of Tournai to French forces, the spectacles included jousts, a 'goodly comedy of Plautus' and a 'maskalyn' performed in the king's great chamber at Greenwich.[125] The novelty of the Plautus play has already been suggested, but Richard Gibson's accounts also note that the masque was done 'after the maner of the contrey of eetaly'.[126] Italian-style masques were first introduced to the English court at the Twelfth Night celebrations of 1512 and were distinguished from other disguisings by

[122] For e.g. the king was entertained at Whitsuntide 1501 by the Abbot of Unreason of Linlithgow, and around Midsummer 1501 by dancing guisers. The king outfitted his own Abbott of Unreason for revels around Easter and Whitsuntide 1503, rewarded Edinburgh guisers on 31 January 1503, perhaps in connection to Candlemas, and held a tournament in November 1502: *TA*, ii. 111, 112, 320, 348, 356, 374.
[123] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 40; *TA*, ii. 135.
[124] Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*, 96-115; G. Kipling, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage', in G. F. Lytle and S. Orgel (eds.) *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 117-64.
[125] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 100-1.
[126] TNA: SP 1/18, fos. 52-7; Hall, 597.

'commoning' – informal conversation and mingling between maskers and spectators.[127] Its appearance in the 1519 revels, the first recorded Shrovetide disguising at Henry's court since 1510, reinforces the correlation between continental influence and the rise of English Shrovetide spectacle. And although the connection between Italian masking and Carnival seems obvious, French influence was perhaps more central here. In the paragraph preceding his description of the English Shrovetide revels for French hostages, Hall emphasizes the heady influence of French fashion on contemporary English elites, going so far as to connect it to the participation of the king's closest companions in the Carnival customs of the French court. During the month of February, Nicholas Carew, Francis Brian, and 'diuerse other of the young gentlemen of Englande' spent time at the French court during negotiations over the first Anglo-French treaty:

> And thei with the Frenche kyng roade daily disguysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentlemen came again into Englande, thei wer al Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at…[128]

The great influence of these Francophile courtiers, dubbed the 'minions' by their enemies, upon the king's pleasures and politics is well known. It is probable that they, alongside Henry's other close advisors throughout the reign, played a role in the rise of Shrovetide revels. It was the earl of Essex who devised a Shrove Sunday disguising in the parliament chamber in 1510, Cardinal Wolsey who hosted the *Schatew Vert* in 1522, and Thomas Cromwell who arranged Shrovetide revels from 1537-9.[129] Out of this number, Cardinal Wolsey was perhaps the greatest promoter of cosmopolitan spectacle, and as Streitberger has argued, his revels 'were on the leading edge of the introduction of classical and continental elements'.[130]

[127] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 82-3. For the debate over the exact (or inexact) nature of masking as opposed to other forms of disguising, and the significance of its introduction at the English court see also S. Anglo, 'The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant, and Mask', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s., 1 (1968), 4-8; Twycross and Carpenter, 169-70.
[128] Hall, 597.
[129] (1510) TNA: E 36/215, 46; E 36/217, fos. 3-12, 15-25; Hall, 513-4. (1522) SP 1/29, fos. 228v-37; Hall, 631-2. (1537-9) E 36/256, fos. 85; E 36/256, fos. 122; E 36/256, fos. 155v, 156, 158.
[130] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 136.

Like William Dunbar, Edward Hall had little complimentary to say of the courtly craze for all things French in the early sixteenth century. Of course, he directed none of this criticism towards his king, who was perhaps the greatest offender in coveting French novelty. As C. W. Wallace once noted, in late 1520 Henry returned home from the Field of Cloth of Gold in France ‘maskelling-mad’.[131] The king ordered six ‘maskellers’ from November to February, as opposed to more traditional disguisings, with the final two taking place on Shrove Monday (**Fig. 10**) and Tuesday alongside a joust and tourney.[132] The flourishing of Shrovetide spectacle at Henry’s court then, must be viewed next to his dealings with France and other European powers. The king’s participation in a string of seven or more Shrovetide martial spectacles from 1516 to 1527 notably began after the king spent time in France during the First Anglo-French War (1512-14). His ordering of at least five Shrovetide masques and disguisings at court from 1519-1522 also coincided with back-and-forth negotiations between Francis I and Charles V. These were facilitated by personal trips to France or envoys composed of his closest confidants. The great Shrovetide revels of 1519 and 1522 were staged respectively for French hostages in connection with an Anglo-French treaty, and Flemish ambassadors in connection with an Anglo-Imperial one. It is highly likely these displays were calculated to dazzle audiences familiar with Carnival mimetic spectacle, emulating and improving on styles and forms the foreigners were accustomed to seeing. Still, Henry VIII clearly had an interest in promoting a ‘continental-style’ Shrovetide from the beginning of his reign and was perhaps inspired in part by examples witnessed at his father’s court. Indeed, one of the few possible instances of Shrovetide mimetic spectacle at Henry VII’s court was performed by nine ‘ffrenshemen’ in 1505.[133]

[131] C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 56
[132] For the Shrovetide maskellers see TNA: SP 1/29, fo. 219r-v; E 36/217, fos. 318-9. For the other four occasions refer to Appendix C.
[133] The payment was £4 to ‘ix ffrenshemen that pleyed’. It is not clear if this was a dramatic or musical entertainment: Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 251.

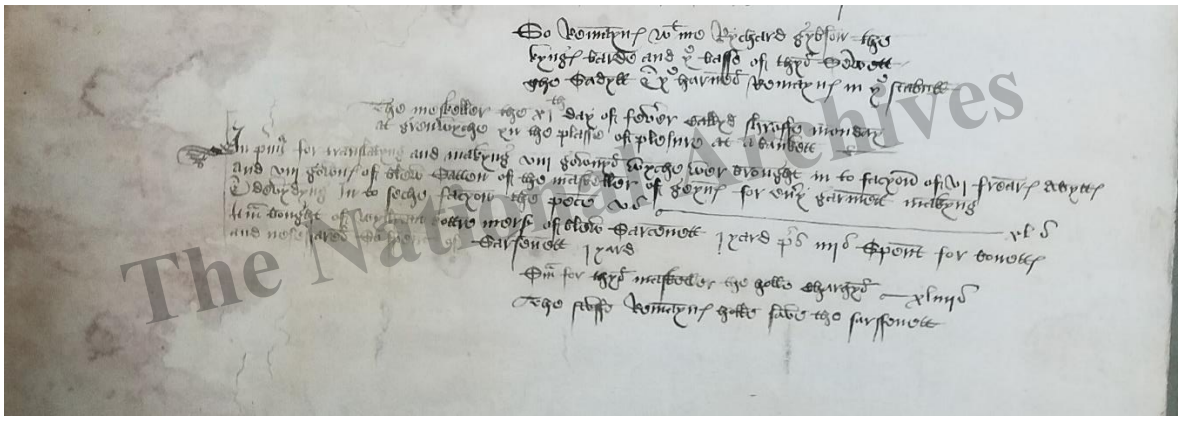


FIGURE 10 Richard Gibson’s account for a ‘maskeller’ on 12 February, ‘callyd Shroffe Monday at grenwyche yn the plasse of pleasure at a bankett’ in 1521. TNA: E 36/217, fo. 318. Credit: Image reproduced with kind permission from The National Archives, Kew.

Adopting continental styles, elements and seasonal traditions was an inescapably political action of aggrandisement in the context of the early modern royal court. As already argued above, spectacle was still tethered to occasion in this period: elites could take pleasure when they pleased, but even rulers usually needed a good reason to produce a revel. James IV and Henry VIII’s investment in Shrovetide as an occasion for mimetic spectacle, therefore, was akin to the annexation of territory, the acquisition of valuable resources, or the learning of an additional language. All these could be instrumental in maintaining and projecting princely magnificence, but the calendar represented a particularly stable cultural currency from which to draw upon. Beyond outlets for true devotion and catharsis, feast days provided regular opportunities to display proper religious observance and piety, distribute proper quantities of largesse, and command proper levels and forms of secular celebration. In this last category, Carnival constituted one of the most valuable and widely traded denominations of cultural capital in Europe. By celebrating Shrovetide with mimetic revels, James IV and Henry VIII brought their courts in line with other great powers in customary practice. But in their capacity as dialogic and participatory revels, as opposed to pure spectacles like cock-fighting matches, courtly disguisings and plays could move beyond prestige diplomacy to comment upon political matters and help formulate specific images of rulership. In this sense, Shrovetide must be considered as an occasion that brought with it pre-configured ideas and themes rooted in tradition and seasonality. Thus, the last hypothesis for the growth of Shrovetide mimetic spectacle at court proposes that the seasonal connotations of Shrovetide were particularly apropos to the kinds of kingship James IV and Henry VIII wished to cultivate, encouraging new and then sustained interest in the festival as a platform for mimetic display.

Testing this final theory depends largely on access to the interior themes and contents of mimetic revels. Unfortunately, very few texts or narrative accounts survive of Stewart and early Tudor revels, let alone Shrovetide ones specifically. For the English court we are largely dependent on Edward Hall’s chronicle for insight into content, while Richard Gibson’s more detailed revels accounts sometimes offer clues to overarching themes or fictive scenarios. By far our best indicator of the influence of seasonal occasion in Henry VIII’s Shrovetide revels comes from the *Schatew Vert* pageant-disguising. Described in detail at the outset of this chapter, the allegorical assault led by Desire would have been recognizable to the English and Flemish audience as a genteel take on the mock battles taking place all over the country and continent every Shrove Tuesday. It would have affirmed Henry’s identity as a virile warrior king, potent yet steadfast in loyalty to Queen Katherine. The revels produced for the French hostages in 1519 also illustrate the role seasonality could play in crafting an image of kingship.

Hall explains that the king ‘used familiarly’ the French hostages, who were ‘very heuy and sorowful’ about their predicament, by entertaining them on Shrove Monday and Tuesday. The king’s chamber was brightly illuminated for the spectacle with lights ‘set on pillers that wer gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe…couered with blewe sattin set full of presses of fine gold and flowers’. On Shrove Monday, after the king and his courtiers joined the hostages in watching the Plautus play, eight ladies entered the chamber ‘tired like to the Egipcians very richely’. They processed around the place before eight masked noblemen joined them ‘in long gounes of taffeta set with flowers of gold bullion’. After dancing with the ladies, the noblemen cast off their outer gowns to reveal ‘under that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embroudered with golde’. Finally, the maskers revealed themselves to include the king, the Duke of Suffolk, and the ‘Frenche quene’ (Mary Tudor Brandon), to the delight of the captive audience.[134] The spectacle was in the dance, the magnificence of the fine clothing, the revelation of hidden garments underneath, and the surprise participation of the king and other courtiers. Costumes, participants and actions, however, were all connected by an overarching theme emblazoned underneath the chamber ceiling’s decorations: ‘the flower of youth could not be oppressed’.[135] The black coats revealed in the masque were then worn by the ‘kyng himself & eight young gentlemen’ the next day when they jousted against Suffolk and his band.[136] Although we cannot

[134] Hall, 597.
[135] Hall, 597.
[136] Hall, 598.

know which work of Plautus was performed, the comedy likely paired with the masque and joust to create an interconnected revel illustrating the central motif.[137]

Shrovetide was an ideal occasion to celebrate the prowess of youth, and Henry positioned himself as the leader of this strapping cohort. Moreover, falling on 8 March, Shrove Tuesday would have been in almost perfect concert with the spring equinox that year, reflected in the flower motif used throughout the revels.[138] The other set of spectacles staged for the French hostages' benefit later that year further points to deliberate play with seasonal festive culture. Performed at Newhall, Essex in September, about a week before the autumnal equinox, the revels formed a perfect symmetry with the earlier Shrovetide performances in occasion and subject matter. Following an interlude of *Summer and Winter* produced by William Cornish, eight maskers 'with white berdes' danced 'sadly' with the ladies, who in turn plucked off their visors to reveal an assemblage of older noblemen, 'the youngest man…fiftie at the least'. This masque of 'auncient persones' was followed by another in which the maskers, arrayed in summer colours of green and yellow, boldly danced with the ladies before revealing themselves as the king, the French hostages, and other young courtiers. [139] Whereas the Shrovetide revels espoused the prowess of youth at the dawn of spring, these September revels juxtaposed the youth of summer with the age of approaching winter. And if Henry had been framed as a paragon of youth in the Shrovetide display, he similarly asserted himself as a triumphant and eternal Summer King here, concluding the revel in defiance of the passage of the seasons and untrammeled by the sad and 'auncient' maskers who came before him.

Beyond its efficacy to the king's image, David Starkey has drawn attention to a further political dimension of this revel, representative of budding factionalism at court. In May of 1519, Cardinal Wosley convinced Henry to remove from the Privy Chamber and court his 'minions'- those young men whom Hall called 'so high in loue with the Frenche courte'. They were banished because of their bad influence and over-familiarity with the king. It is likely they had made up the company of 'young gentlemen' who masked and jousted with the king at Shrovetide, and they were replaced with 'foure sad and auncient knightes' appointed by the

[137] Streitberger points out that the plays of Plautus often 'celebrate the energy of youth' and would have thus fit in well with the masque and joust: *Court Revels*, 102.
[138] It should be remembered that at this time the Julian calendar was about ten days behind our own. In 1519 the equinox fell on 11 March.
[139] Hall, 599. On Cornish's interlude see Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 101-2.

cardinal.[140] The minions did not stay out of favour for long, however, and their reinstatement to the Privy Chamber was celebrated in the September revel. They joined the king in his glorious summer entourage, while the aged and erstwhile Knights of the Body were relegated to the farcical company of bearded revelers, suffering the mockery of the ladies who had ‘good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers’.[141] Much more than ‘but a symbolic setting forth’ of the seasonal occasion, the festive content of the revels simultaneously reflected and produced courtly intrigue, presaging and likely contributing to future conflicts between the ‘ministerial party and its court opponents’.[142]

Henry VIII’s personal participation in mimetic revels allowed him to embody and act out the type of king he wished to be. In a few cases there is enough source material surviving to illustrate how such image crafting could be done in conference with seasonal occasions like Shrovetide. While James IV may have similarly participated in disguisings and morris dances, the terse entries in the treasurer’s accounts cannot confirm this. They are equally silent on any fictive scenarios which may have been staged during Shrovetide. As potential performances in themselves, Dunbar’s Fastern’s Eve poems do suggest that Carnival customs and the carnivalesque sometimes formed the subject matter of Shrovetide revels at the Scottish court. The season perhaps also brought with it a shielding sense of humour and play which allowed frank commentary and mockery: the Fastern’s Eve poems variously take aim at the queen’s household men, Highland lairds, sycophantic courtiers, and chivalry itself. Perhaps far more connected to image and policy, however, were James IV and Henry VIII’s decisions to resurrect the tradition of Shrovetide tournaments and participate in them repeatedly. For while a complex mixture of personal taste, cultural power politics, increased bureaucracy, and the influence of humanism and other Renaissance ideals likely contributed to the rise of Shrovetide disguisings and plays in the early sixteenth century, the tournament was a much more public and personal emblem of a king’s rule closely tethered to his discretion.

[140] Hall, 598.
[141] Hall, 599.
[142] D. Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: Collins and Brown, 1985), 81.

Feast of Mars: Shrovetide Tournament as Instrument of Warrior Kingship

All surviving evidence suggests a sudden, if temporary, resurrection of the Shrovetide martial spectacle as a semi-annual tradition in Scotland (1503-1506) and England (1516-1527) after a conspicuous disappearance in the fifteenth century.[143] As with the rise of Shrovetide masking and drama, this may have been in part due to tactics of prestige diplomacy. Carnival remained the prime occasion for annual tournaments in communes and princely courts throughout mainland Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By re-introducing their own Carnival tournaments, James IV and Henry VIII were emulating the great powers and reconnecting their courts to a pan-European tradition. It also must be considered, however, that tournaments were more subject to the personalities and whims of a ruler and their coterie than mimetic spectacles. With the right organization and bureaucratic machinery in place, masques and plays could be produced frequently, relatively inexpensively, and without much princely oversight, producing a sustained tradition. In contrast, tournaments were far grander and generally more expensive affairs held but rarely, perhaps once or twice a year. They required crown patronage and aristocratic participation and thus always served as a platform for elite posturing and princely image. Therefore, in considering why traditions of Shrovetide tournaments rose and fell at British courts during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, equal billing must be given to the potential efficacy of the particular festival to royal and elite identities.

James IV held his first documented Shrovetide tournament in 1503. No narrative sources survive for it or any which followed, but some details can be inferred from the treasurer's accounts. On 28 February (Shrove Tuesday) James Dog, a member of the royal household, received two shillings 'for ane singill bonet [helmet] to the King…to the turnaying at Fasteringis evin'. Clearly a participant, the king's personal investment in the event is better indicated by his preparatory wardrobe purchases. Four days before the tournament, the goldsmith Johne Auchlek received £4 2s to outfit the king's armour with mail totaling four 'ducatis of wecht'. Apparently, this was insufficiently magnificent (or safe), for on Shrove Monday the goldsmith was paid to 'mak ma [more] and gretar malzies [mail] for the Kingis doublet'.[144] The weapons prepared for the event suggest its elements. Johne Mayne, a bowyer,

[143] Compare Figures 7 and 12.
[144] *TA*, ii. 202.

received seven shillings for three white spears and one axshaft 'tane fra him at Fasteringis Evin bipast'.[145] Later in the year, and probably in preparation for the wedding tournaments which took place in August, James Hog repaired swords and harness that had been 'left at the tournaying of Fasteringis Evin'.[146] The spears were no doubt intended for jousting, while the swords and axes for tournaying (hand-to-hand combat on horseback) and barriers (hand-to-hand combat on foot across a raised bar). By the sixteenth century, these three were the standard forms of tournament combat, and records from the next two Shrovetide tournaments, in 1505 and 1506, confirm that jousting, tourneying and barriers were all contested those years. [147]

Building on the success of his first Shrovetide tournament, James IV held a larger and more expensive event in 1505. Long swords, short swords, axes and over fifty spears were purchased in preparation, pavilions were set up, and participants entertained with a disguising in the evening. The tournament was an opportunity for largesse as well as magnificence, the crown paying to furnish a caparison of green taffeta for Patrick Sinclair, the Master of the King's Wardrobe.[148] Sinclair was a member of what Katie Stevenson has dubbed the 'royal team', a retinue of knights who often tourneyed alongside their king in the latter half of the reign.[149] Although it is not certain that James participated in the 1505 tournament, the presence of Sinclair suggests he might have. In 1506 another tournament was held for Fastern's Eve, and while it was not as extravagant in cost as the one the year prior, the accounts suggest other innovations. Trumpeters and shawm players were rewarded on the day, presumably for playing at the event. Provisions were also made for 'buklar play' alongside the typical jousting, tourneying and barriers.[150]

James IV's interest in Shrovetide tournaments must be understood alongside the other martial spectacles of his reign, as well as shifts in Scottish foreign and domestic policies over time. The king's minority had been rife with rapacious regents and rebellion, and his early personal rule marred by tension and outright war with England.[151] In this climate only a handful of

[145] *TA*, ii. 363.
[146] *TA*, ii. 386.
[147] S. Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster: A Collotype Reproduction of the Manuscript* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 41. For Fastern's Eve 1505, for e.g. Robert, the cutler provided the king with 'lang suordis for the barres…schort suordis for tournaying…virales and Diamandis for justing speris': *TA*, ii. 477.
[148] *TA*, ii. 476-7, 479.
[149] Stevenson, 'Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown', 192.
[150] *TA*, iii. 182-3.
[151] Conflict with England was most notably exacerbated by James IV's support of Perkin Warbeck's pretensions to the English throne in 1495-6: N. Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997), 117-134.

tournaments were staged, some in direct connection with said warfare.[152] By the outset of the sixteenth century, however, Scotland was much more stable, and after the signing of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace with England in 1502, it was also at peace internationally. Between the treaty signing and the Battle of Flodden (1513), at least eleven tournaments were held.[153] The Shrovetide tournaments were only one part of this trend, but a significant part at that. They represent James IV's first attempt at an annual martial event: a dependable platform for chivalrous deeds which Scottish and international knights could expect each year. As Katie Stevenson has argued, James IV's 'Shrove Tuesday tournaments and his elaborate chivalric displays were an attempt to be noticed as a leader of chivalry on a European level'.[154] After the Shrovetide 1506 tournament, however, James IV abandoned this seasonal festival and invested in another. The final three documented martial spectacles of his reign (1506, 1507, 1508) took place in conjunction with May or Midsummer festivals. Their content, style and themes suggest the pairing of these tournaments and festive occasions was deliberate.

During the spring and summer months of 1507 and 1508, the king instituted a new annual tradition by staging spectacles which far surpassed all those preceding them in pageantry and scale: The Tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady.[155] Coinciding with Whitsuntide in 1507 and Rogationtide in 1508, James IV challenged all comers to feats-of-arms in honour of the Black Lady, a woman probably of Moorish descent arrayed in finery and positioned at the centre of the pageantry.[156] The king participated both years disguised and costumed richly as the Wild Knight, a liminal figure from medieval romance representing 'ungoverned aggressivity and sexuality'.[157] By all accounts, the first tournament in 1507, with its allegorical themes and lavish display was an unabashed success, and the king held another even more grand the next year. James sent heralds throughout Europe to proclaim the event, and Bernard Stewart, commander of the Scots guard in France was given the honour of presiding over the games.[158] The king doubled down on the spectacle the second year: thirteen men bore the Black Lady aloft, perhaps on some pavilion or pageant-car, carting her to the lists

[152] For e.g. jousting spears were sent to the raid of Hume in 1497: *TA*, i. 310.
[153] Stevenson lists these in a detailed calendar: 'Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown', 358-62.
[154] Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 98.
[155] These tournaments have been given extensive scholarly attention. See especially Fradenburg, 225-64; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 94-8.
[156] The dates can be approximated from payments in the treasurer's accounts: *TA*, iii. 258-61, 393-8, 400, 404, 406, 410; iv. 119-25.
[157] Fradenburg, 236. R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1952), 8, 18-19.
[158] Stevenson, 'Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown', 189-90.

and back for the lavish banquet, which was accompanied by a ‘play and dans’.[159] In both years, the king’s martial prowess was confirmed alongside his court’s magnificence when he was declared the winner of the tournament.[160]

With their increased emphasis on pageantry and allegorical fiction steeped in traditions of medieval romance, the tournaments of 1507 and 1508 signaled a major shift in James IV’s approach to staging martial spectacle. In form and style, they resemble contemporary Burgundian tournaments which often acted out fictions inspired by romance literature atop ornate pageant-cars and other complex scenery. It may be that these stylistic changes and continental appropriations are at the heart of the shift in festive occasion as well. Katie Stevenson has proposed that James IV’s Shrovetide tournaments were perhaps not as successful as the king had hoped for, with foreign knights declining to travel to Scotland in the harsh winter months when other Shrove Tuesday contests could be found closer to home. By moving the annual tournaments to a more pleasant season, it would have been easier to attract international attention and promote the king’s ‘chivalric image both in Scotland and on the Continent’.[161] These practicalities no doubt played a part, but the two seasonal occasions under consideration, May festivals and Shrovetide, also brought with them inherently different, though not unrelated, folkloric themes. These festive themes could and often did influence the form and content of spectacles staged upon them, a fact perhaps best illustrated by the tournaments held in England during this same period.

While James IV switched from promoting annual Shrovetide tournaments to annual May festivals, Henry VII favoured the latter seasonal occasion throughout his reign.[162] After the English court unexpectedly played host to Philip of Burgundy and Joanna of Castile in early 1506, Henry VII began making his May festivals regular vehicles for spectacle in the high Burgundian style. During the duke of Burgundy’s stay, a February tournament was held in his honour and negotiations initiated for the marriage of Princess Mary to his son, the future ‘Universal Monarch’ Charles V. Later that same year, Henry VII held allegorical ‘Jousts of May’ which reflected both the current political climate and the festive one by placing Princess Mary at the centre of May pageantry. Mary received a letter from Lady May, servant of Lady

[159] *TA*, iv. 119, 125.
[160] Fradenburg, 231-2.
[161] Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 91.
[162] May festival tournaments are documented in 1492, 1499, 1501, 1506, 1507. See Appendix C.

Summer, asking if the princess would license a tournament in her honour like the one recently fought for 'Dame February'.[163] The following year, 'Justes of the Months of May and June' were again staged at Greenwich for Princess Mary's benefit, with a challenge issued by the Queen of May, and answered by champions bedecked in green apparel.[164]

This connection between Burgundian-style tournaments and May festivals is evident in the first seven or so years of Henry VIII's reign as well, when the young king held annual tournaments in May and June. The spectacles usually featured characters and storylines associated with the festive season, such as May Kings and Queens, Lady Flora, Robin Hood, jolly foresters and other denizens of the greenwood, sometimes set atop rich pageant-cars decorated with woodland scenery.[165] This vibrant folkloric tradition made May festivals perhaps the most ideal setting for a style highly dependent on play-acting and fictive scenarios. Plus, on a practical level the fair spring and summer weather was better for the spectators, costumes, pageant-cars and scenic materials involved. James IV's staging of his tournaments of the Wild Knight and Black Lady during May festivals therefore made sense on several levels. The Wild Knight was essentially a knightly version of the wodewose or wildman who made the greenwood his abode. He was a stock folkloric and literary character, but one particularly at home in the eternal spring and summer of romantic landscapes. As such he was an ideal character to embody at a tournament staged during those seasons. The Wildman may have been equally at home at Carnival, but perhaps not in a Shrovetide (British) tournament.[166]

In contrast to tournaments held at state events or other seasons such as May or Christmas, British Shrovetide tournaments usually centred on personal combat, physical prowess and competition, rather than pageantry, fictitious personas and storylines. This was the case when Edward III, known for introducing mimetic elements inspired by Arthurian romance into his tournaments, staged a traditional melee in honour of his son Lionel's betrothal during Shrovetide 1342. It was also the case when Burgundian knights, champions of the romantic *pas d'armes* form of tourney, fought *à outrance* in Stirling on Shrove Tuesday 1449. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the military exercises within tournaments had

[163] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 43-4.
[164] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 44-6.
[165] May or Midsummer tournaments with such themes and pageantry were held in 1509-1512, 1514 -5. For details see Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 65-68, 74-9. For dates and specific festive occasions see Appendix C.
[166] Richard Bernheimer comments on the ubiquity of the Wildman in every form of medieval pageantry, including Carnival: *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1952), 2.

largely become mimetic displays in service to medieval romance, and British Shrovetide had become closely associated with drama, Shrovetide tournaments remained consistently bellicose and centred on individual prowess. This does not mean such spectacles lacked pageantry, pomp or romance. As already discussed, themes of unrequited courtly love sat perfectly well with the betrothals, weddings, and forbidden sex of 'the coupling month'. Furthermore, Shrovetide tournaments were often lavish with music, pavilions, fine harnesses, caparisons and armour. However, on Shrove Tuesday elements of pageantry and romance rarely took centre-stage and instead served to emphasize the true focus of the event: the knight in his original role as a chivalric warrior. In other words, Shrovetide tournaments symbolised, perhaps even preserved, the traditional purpose of the martial spectacle as a proving and training ground for the arts of war. Thus, all records of Shrovetide tournaments at James IV's court suggest the drama was in the fighting and the knightly body: expenses went towards the king's armour and his knights' caparisons, while for the later May festival tournaments, expenses went towards adorning the Black Lady and transforming the king into the Wild Knight, a character from romantic fiction.

The tournaments of the latter half of James IV's reign were staged in the wake of the king's victories in battle during the 1490s. By sponsoring and participating in annual tournaments at Shrovetide, a season which encapsulated the warrior ethos, James propagated an image of his court as a domain of chivalry and knightly excellence, with an experienced and successful warrior king at its centre. [167] The annual spectacles were part of a larger programme of revelry, already commented upon, aimed to cultivate and project the magnificence of the Scottish court. Begun in earnest after the success of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace with an expansion in the frequency and occasion of revels, the programme continued as marriage to Margaret Tudor introduced further English and continental influences. Shifting from the 'bread and butter' tournaments of Shrovetide and other occasions, to the allegorical Wild Knight and Black Lady was a logical next step in the development of a cosmopolitan court well-versed in the latest cultural trends. The switch occurred a year after Queen Margaret's sister was honoured with Jousts of May in England, and the Scottish tournaments of 1507 and 1508, widely proclaimed in Europe, took place at the same time as similar events at Henry VII's court. The new tournaments therefore emulated Burgundian cultural forms, but also put the Scottish court in direct competition with the English.

[167] Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 98.

If James IV initially used Shrovetide tournaments to project a court of chivalry with a warrior king at its centre, and then abandoned this strategy for one more attuned to current Burgundian fashions, Henry VIII followed an inverse path. Prior to 1516, Henry VIII's court largely followed the stylistic and temporal precedents set during his father's reign. Burgundian-inflected tournaments were held for special occasions like the coronation (Midsummer 1509) and the churching of Queen Katherine (February 1511), but also for near-annual May festivals (1509-1512, 1514-1515). In these displays Henry often participated as allegorical or romantic characters within a broader fiction, such as Coeur Loyal in the Westminster Tournament of 1511, a defender of the ship of *Renoune* on May Day 1511, or a religious hermit in the May joust of 1514.[168] By 1516, however, this tournament style had fallen out of fashion, a shift both Sydney Anglo and W. R. Streitberger attribute to the king's experiences in the First Anglo-French War (1512-14).[169] During the summer of 1513, Henry won a string of victories in France celebrated with triumphant entries into several continental cities. According to Streitberger:

> The war transformed Henry from a talented and promising athlete into a successful warrior…Henry's entries into Calais, Therouanne, Lille, and Tournai in 1513 were not imaginative games but ceremonies celebrating real victories. His appearances in the lists afterwards were seldom in the guise of figures such as 'Couer Loyal' from the landscape of the imagination, but as he now regarded himself, and as he was regarded abroad, the warrior Prince of England. This is the image Henry continued to enhance until his retirement from the lists after 1527.[170]

What has not been commented upon by scholars is that the First Anglo-French War also signalled a change in the traditional festive occasions of Henry's martial displays. After the king returned from France, he jousted in May festivals again in 1514 and 1515, each of these connected to larger dramas but lacking the fantastic pageant-cars of earlier years.[171] Beginning in 1516, however, the king lost interest in jousting in disguise at May Day or Whitsuntide, and increasingly jousted as himself at Shrovetide and other winter festivals. The shift, illustrated in

[168] Hall, 517-520, 568.
[169] Anglo, *Great Tournament Roll*, 44-6; Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 74-9.
[170] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 76.
[171] In May 1514 the king and Charles Brandon jousted disguised as hermits. In 1515 May Day celebrations included an archery competition with the king's guard costumed as Robin Hood's men, Lady May and Lady Flora drawn on chariots, and a joust in which the king participated apparelled in green and gold: Hall, 568, 582; Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 77-9.

Figure 11, is striking. From 1509-1515 about 38% of the 21 martial revels Henry participated in occurred at May festivals and none at Shrovetide. Contrastingly, from 1516-1527 about 35% of all 26 martial revels featuring the king as a combatant occurred at Shrovetide and none at May festivals. The second-half of the king’s jousting career was largely defined by his yearly exploits at Shrovetide, and it proved an ideal platform from which Henry could project his new image of warrior kingship.

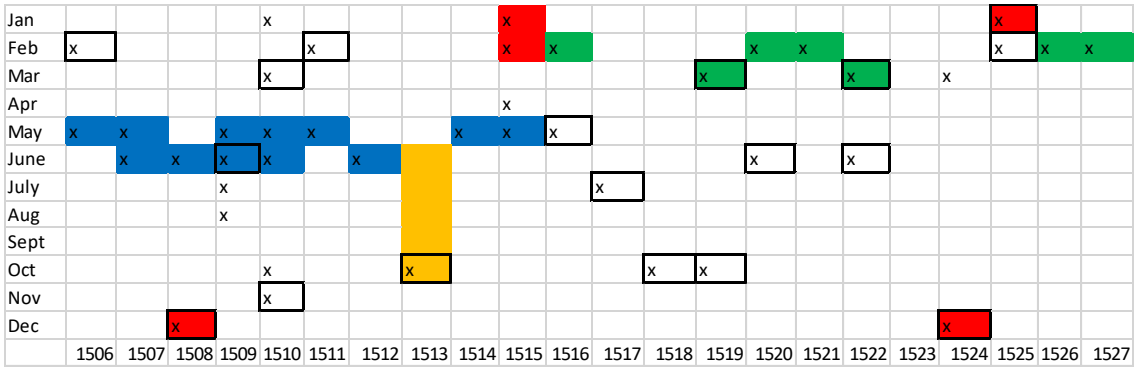


FIGURE 11 Visualization of Henry VIII’s participation in martial displays and their occasions over time. Tournaments from the end of Henry VII’s reign have been included to demonstrate certain continuities, although there is no evidence that Henry participated in these. An ‘X’ marks a month during which the king fought in a martial competition. Cells with a black outline indicate the tournament was held for a dynastic/state event. Coloured cells indicate the tournament was held during a seasonal festival. Red signifies Christmastide (including Candlemas), green signifies Shrovetide, and blue represents May/June festivals. Gold shading shows those months in 1513 when the king was on campaign in France.

Scenery, pageant-cars and overt drama were largely absent from Henry VIII’s tournaments in the latter half of his career in the list, but the events were no less spectacular. They were still organized around themes broadly connected to traditions of chivalry and courtly love, but the story was borne elegantly and unobtrusively by *impresa* embroidered on the horse trappers and caparisons.[172] This rich apparel, alongside luxurious clothing and finely wrought armour, saddles and harnesses served to direct all eyes onto the body of the knight. As argued before, Shrovetide tournaments historically emphasized knightly feats-of-arms and warlike prowess over imaginative scenarios from romantic literature. As Richard Gibson’s revels accounts and Edward Hall’s chronicle suggest, Henry’s physical appearance and martial skills were consistently placed at the centre of these Shrovetide events, where drama and pageants had been placed before.

[172] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 77-8; Anglo, *Great Tournament Roll*, 45.

On Shrove Tuesday (Feb 5) 1516, Henry ran at the ring in Greenwich with his person and horse richly apparelled in over £172 worth of blue and black velvet, satin, sarcenet, and damask, some of which the king gave away to spectators.[173] Wherever revel accounts survive for Shrovetide martial spectacles, they show similarly lavish expense on garments, bards, and bases of rich silk and velvet, with harnesses and saddles of fine metal. Indeed, the main event of the masque performed for French hostages on Shrove Monday 1519 was the revelation of the black velvet coats to be worn by Henry and his companions in the joust the next day.[174] In his admittedly biased accounts of these martial displays, Hall is ever eager to set Henry apart from the other participants, whether in appearance or skill. The chronicler writes that on Shrove Tuesday 1527, the occasion of his final public joust, 'the king himself, in a newe harness all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen' ran with eight other gentlemen against the Marques of Exeter and his team: 'like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilte, & there ran many freshe courses, till .cc.lxxxvi. speres wer broken'.[175] The rather extraordinary amount of 286 broken spears implies the prowess of the tilters, but Hall is less subtle elsewhere. On Shrove Sunday 1521 the king 'in his owne person justed to all comers' challenging them to a joust on Monday and a tourney on Tuesday. At the tourney, the king, the earl of Devonshire and four aides fought against sixteen answerers: 'noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest'.[176]

As seen in the Shrovetide jousts staged for the French hostages and those held for the imperial embassy, the costumes and *impresa* of jousters could be linked thematically to mimetic revels staged before or after without distracting from the show in the lists. When thematic details survive for Henry VIII's Shrovetide tournaments they illustrate how the traditional festival proved a perfect platform for core tenets of the chivalric ethos. The strong association with warfare and military excellence has already been noted, but gentler themes from the courtly love tradition of medieval romance were also consistently at play. The knight's caparisons from 1522 all included variations on a theme of unrequited or forbidden love encapsulated in the devices and *impresa* of the earl of Devonshire and Lord Roos: 'their apparell was white veluet, embraudered with clothe of golde, wrought in deuice an harte, trauersed crosse wise with a chayne… on the borders were written my harte is betwene ioye and pein'.[177] The frustrations

[173] TNA: E 36/229, fos. 87-90; E 36/215, 432. The king also ran at the ring one week earlier on 29 January.
[174] Hall, 597.
[175] Hall,719; TNA: SP 1/41, fos. 165-8.
[176] Hall, 622; TNA: SP 1/29, fos. 215-18v; E 36/217, fos. 316-18.
[177] Hall, 631; TNA: SP 1/29, fos. 223-8.

expressed on the horses' trappings found release two days later when the participants of the joust assailed the *Schatew Vert* and joined Ardent Desire with Beauty. The jousts in 1519 likewise tied into a series of revels on the irrepressibility of youth, while Henry's device in 1526 was a 'mannes harte in a presse, with flames about it'.[178]

Such devices and mottos would not have been out of place in tournaments at other occasions; medieval romance infused most spectacles of the early Tudor period. Nonetheless, they were perhaps *most* suitable at Shrovetide, when the sexual overtones of a season of fornication and marriage (the only legitimate outlet for latent sexuality at the time) clashed with the impending chastity of Lent. This annual seasonal conflict mirrored the romantic tradition of repressed knightly love and devotion to a lady which could only find legitimate outlet through feats-of-arms done in her honour. That this connection between courtly love and Shrovetide was indeed felt by Henry and his contemporaries receives support from the theme's appearance in five out of the nine Shrovetide martial spectacles of the reign, and particularly from a challenge issued on Candlemas eve 1520.[179]

At the palace of Greenwich, four gentlemen entered the king's chamber pulling a richly adorned pageant-wagon upon which a lady sat under a canopy. She offered the king a bill which proclaimed that the four gentlemen 'would for the loue of their ladies answer al commers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be appoynted: whiche daie was appoynted at shrofetide next ensuyng'.[180] Henry obviously deemed the festival an appropriate occasion for this affair and answered the challenge himself on Shrove Sunday. Importantly, the challenge and use of a pageant-car, the only example of such fictional pageantry associated with a tournament post-1515, did not disrupt the actual fighting. This occurred two weeks later and involved no disguising or play-acting.[181] Henry's patronage and participation in a festival of love and war thus bolstered his kingly image not only as a successful warrior, but as an amorous and virile champion of courtly love. It is perhaps no coincidence that the king's interest in Shrovetide martial displays coincided with his increasing insecurities over the infertility of his marriage, the twilight of his youth, and the threats these realities posed to the future stability of his kingdom. His investment in staging spectacle on this festival should not be viewed as simple

[178] Hall, 707.
[179] Such themes are recorded in the jousts of 1519, 1520, 1522, the castle assault in 1522, and the joust of 1526.
[180] Hall, 600-1; TNA, E 36/216, fos. 74-75; E 36/217, fos. 119-21, 139-41.
[181] Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 105; Anglo, *Great Tournament Roll*, 44, 59n.2.

diversion, or even general aggrandizement, but as part of a coherent political strategy to project assured confidence to his subjects and the world.

Understanding the efficacy of Shrovetide to kings such as James IV and Henry VIII hinges in part on grasping its distinction from other festive occasions. Efforts have been made in this chapter and those proceeding it to illustrate what set Shrovetide apart from other feast days and festivals, and how and why these distinct characteristics could prompt historical agents to seek advantage in instituting, maintaining or changing festive traditions. At royal courts, any occasion might do to evoke general magnificence, but there is a sense that specific policies and elite identities benefitted from suitable festive settings. For limited periods during James IV and Henry VIII's reigns, Shrovetide provided that setting. That the specific elite identity which Shrovetide tournaments amplified was of the masculine warrior prince and paragon of chivalry receives additional support when we cast our eyes to the remaining history of the tradition in Britain (**Fig. 12**).

Year	Reign	Kingdom	Year	Reign	Kingdom	Year	Reign	Kingdom
1503	James IV	Scotland	**1540**	James V	Scotland	**1593**	Elizabeth I	England
1505	James IV	Scotland	**1547**	Edward VI	England	**1595**	Elizabeth I	England
1506	James IV	Scotland	**1548**	Edward VI	England	**1600**	Elizabeth I	England
1516	Henry VIII	England	**1550**	Edward VI	England	**1602**	Elizabeth I	England
1519	Henry VIII	England	**1560**	Elizabeth I	England	**1609**	James VI/I	E & S
1520	Henry VIII	England	**1561**	Elizabeth I	England	**1610**	James VI/I	E & S
1521	Henry VIII	England	**1562**	Elizabeth I	England	**1612**	James VI/I	E & S
1522	Henry VIII	England	**1565**	Elizabeth I	England	**1613**	James VI/I	E & S
1526	Henry VIII	England	**1571**	Elizabeth I	England			
1527	Henry VIII	England	**1586**	Elizabeth I	England			

FIGURE 12 Evidence of Shrovetide martial spectacles planned or staged in Britain after 1500. All sources can be found in this chapter or Appendix C.2.

Telling of the festival's special significance to Henry VIII's sporting persona, no further Shrovetide martial spectacles are recorded after the king's retirement from the lists in 1527, with May festivals returning as the favoured occasion.[182] James IV likewise never sponsored Shrovetide tournaments again after 1506, nor does it appear his son James V resurrected the

[182] After Henry VIII's retirement, court tournaments were rare. Records survive of four, showing a switch back to the more publicly favourable May festival setting: the tournament to celebrate Anne Boleyn's Whitsunday coronation in May 1533, a May Day tournament in 1536, a Twelfth Night tournament planned to celebrate Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves in 1540, and a Maytide tournament in 1540. See Appendix C.

annual tradition. Instead, the next resurgence came in the reign of Edward VI. Ushered in by a Shrove Sunday coronation celebrated with Shrove Monday and Tuesday tournaments, Edward's reign saw enthusiastic patronage for the traditional boys' holiday and its warlike elements. Shrovetide jousts, tourneys, barriers, and castle assaults were numerous during the reign, as were masques and plays which fused militaristic themes with Protestant invective.[183] Whether they served as propaganda for Somerset's Protectorate or as wish fulfilment for a precocious child-king seeking to fill his father's large boots, Shrovetide martial displays were fit for purpose.[184] From 1560-1565, periodic Shrovetide marital spectacles arose again when courtiers such as Robert Dudley sought to win Queen Elizabeth's hand or influence her marital decisions.[185] This tradition disappeared when Elizabeth funnelled such testosterone-fuelled posturing into her annual Accession Day tilts. These allowed for competition and individual display among the male aristocracy but placed the Virgin Queen's chastity and virtue, rather than solely the potency and virility of the individual courtier, at the centre.[186] Shrovetide tournaments re-emerged in the 1590s, flourishing briefly under the aegis of the earls of Essex and Cumberland. Finally, the tradition's swansong came during the ascendancy of Prince Henry Stuart, who favoured Shrovetide as an occasion to ride at the ring with his companions. The latter prince's death in 1612 signalled the end of near-four centuries of elite Shrovetide martial spectacles in Britain, with the last known tournament taking place in celebration of Princess Elizabeth Stuart and Elector Palatine Frederick V's wedding of 1613.

[183] Tournaments followed the coronation on Shrove Monday, Tuesday and the following Sunday: BL: Egerton MS. 3026, fos. 1-33. Shrovetide 1548 included a joust, tourney, barriers, and an assault on a large wooden castle defended by thirty against up to one hundred men. According to John Stow the castle siege, a Carnival staple but one of the few recorded at the English court, was staged 'to shew the King the manner of Warres wherein hee had great pleasure': John Stow, *Annals* (London, 1615), 595; *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, ed. J. G. Nichols, 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club, 1857), ii. 22. The 1549 Shrovetide revels included a masque featuring priests and a 'dragon of vii heads': *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, ed. A. Feuillerat. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, vol. 44; Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1914), 39-40. In January of 1550, Lord Fitzwater, Sir George Howard issued a challenge for a joust, tourney and 'trandon' to be held at Shrovetide. There is no evidence that this challenge was carried out: Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 287.

[184] Ronald Hutton has pointed out that the overly bellicose nature of revels during Edward VI's early reign coincided with Lord Protector Somerset's hawkish programmes against Catholicism at home and Scotland and France abroad. Suzanne Westfall has also demonstrated that the young king exerted some influence over his own revels. Certainly, his fondness for Carnival is suggested by his personal performance in a Shrove Sunday masque of Moors in 1548 (*Documents Relating to Edward VI and Mary*, 33) and the atypically large proportion of Shrovetide spectacles planned during his reign: R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 89; Westfall, 'The Boy Who Would Be King', 271-90.

[185] Béhar and Watanabe-O'Kelly, 609.

[186] Strong, 'Popular Celebration of Accession Day', 86–103; Young,

Martial spectacles were held regularly throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods, but sustained traditions of Shrovetide tournaments typically only surfaced in conjunction with aristocratic personalities seeking to cultivate a chivalric warrior image, such as James IV, Henry VIII, Robert Dudley, Robert Devereaux and Prince Henry Stuart. To be sure, festivals of Christmas and May were also favoured, but when all planned martial spectacles at the Tudor court are tallied up, the supremacy of Shrovetide is apparent. Factoring in those mimetic spectacles with overt militaristic content performed at court, like the *Schatew Vert* (1522), the *Mask of Warriors* (1574) or the *The Knight in the Burnyng Rock* (1579), the association becomes even more striking (**Fig. 13**). Even outside the context of these martial and mimetic displays, the festival was an emblem of chivalric culture. Edward VI dubbed forty knights at his coronation, and while this was customary for such a ceremony, he also knighted around sixty more on the Shrove Tuesday following.[187] During Elizabeth’s reign, dubbings and other entitlement ceremonies took place regularly at Shrovetide in conjunction with tournaments, weddings and for their own sake.[188] According to Henry Machyn, the Queen even held a ‘sant gorge ffest’ with all the Knights of the Garter assembled in their finery on Shrove Tuesday 1561.[189]

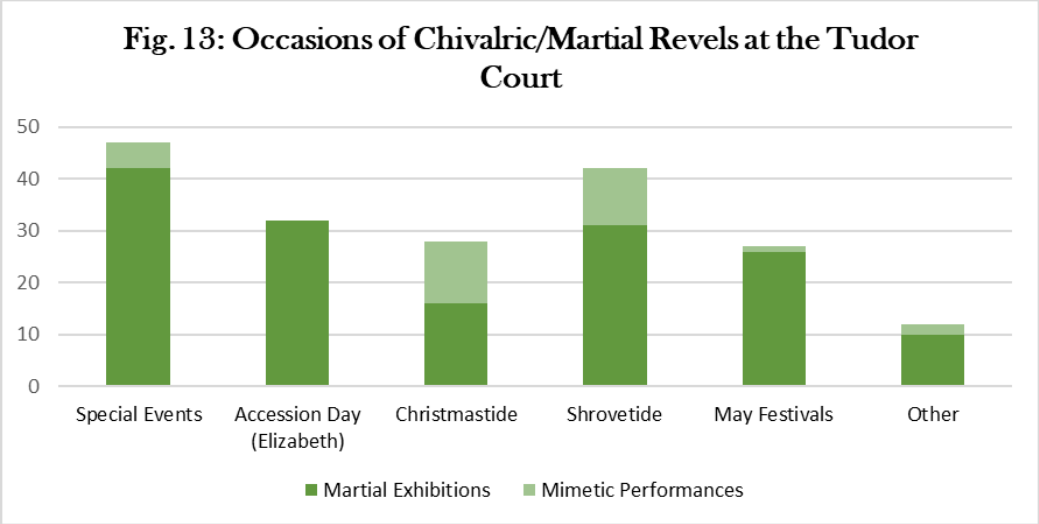


FIGURE 13 This chart quantifies for comparison the occasions of martial spectacles, as well as mimetic revels which incorporated or overtly expressed chivalric or martial themes (i.e. mock warfare, emphasis on weaponry, Arthurian legend). This includes spectacles planned but not produced. Those spectacles staged at special events held during seasonal festivals have mostly been placed in the pertinent seasonal festival category.

[187] W.C Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor made Between the Fourth Year of King Henry VI and the Restoration of King Charles II* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885), 85-95.

[188] Shrovetide knightings and/or peerage creations recorded in 1567, 1570, 1571 1573, 1577, 1578, 1581, 1583, 1598. See relevant years in M. E. Colthorpe, ‘The Elizabethan Court Day by Day’, *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day#The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day.

[189] Henry Machyn, ‘1561 February 18’, in *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550-1563: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, eds. R. W. Bailey, M. Miller, and C. Moore https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/

Shrovetide's quintessential efficacy to knightly display is implicit in the dates chosen for tournaments and ceremonies, but it is also explicitly stated in some surviving sources. When the Burgundian knights challenged the Scots in 1449, James II selected Shrove Tuesday as 'the appointed time'.[190] 'Shrovetyde' was likewise the time 'by the kyng to be appoynted' for jousts in 1520.[191] In 1521, Richard Gibson made explicit that 'the kyngs pleasure was to holld Iusts and tourney of pleasure the xith [Shrove Monday] & the xiith day [Shrove Tuesday] of fevrier'.[192] But perhaps most illustrative of Shrovetide's perceived symbolic and practical relationship to the warrior's cause came with the revival of martial activity at Elizabeth's court during the 1570s. When the Queen received an invitation seeking answerers for a challenge set by the French king for New Year's Day 1571, Elizabeth confessed that 'she had for some years kept up her court like a widow, without tournaments'. She feared that 'her gentlemen's arms had become so feeble that…they would bring shame on themselves and their nation' if they were to attend the challenge.[193] To rectify this embarrassing deficiency in English prowess, the Queen ordered the King of Arms to make proclamation on Twelfth Night, 1571:

> …as there are within this your Majesty's court a great number of noblemen and gentlemen excellent men of arms, and yet (as it were) of late fallen asleep from any kind of such exercise: therefore by your Majesty's licence, to revive them withal, there are four Knights Errant which have thought good to challenge all comers at Shrovetide next… There are to be a Tilt, Tourney and Barriers on Shrove Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, with a prize for the best Defendant in each.[194]

Shrove Tuesday was thus the knight's holiday, as much as it was the scholar's or the shoemaker's. Therein derived its traditional value to masculine aristocratic identities, and therein explains its repeated usage by those elites wishing to cultivate an image of chivalric excellence. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Shrovetide tournament,

[190] *Early Travellers*, 33.
[191] Hall, 600.
[192] TNA: E 36/217, fo. 316r.
[193] Bertrand de Salignac, *Correspondance diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon, ambassadeur de France en Angleterre de 1568 à 1575*, eds. C. P. Cooper and A.Teulet, 7 vols. (Paris and London: de Panchoucke, 1838-1840), iii. 383, 387 as translated in M. Colthorpe, '1570', *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/0/06/ECDbD_1570.pdf, 39.
[194] These feats of arms were postponed twice, first moved to Maytide (May 1-3) and then May 4-6. Quote from Clarenceux King of Arms, 1567-1593, Robert Cooke in Bodleian Ashmolean MS 837, f.245 as transcribed in M. Colthorpe, '1570', *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/8/8b/ECDbD_1571.pdf, 2, 23.

symbolic of tournaments in general, became both reassuring enaction and yearning panegyric for a male aristocracy rapidly shifting from ‘those who fight’ to ‘those who once fought’.

Feast of Venus: Shrovetide Banquets and Weddings as Instruments of Queenship

Shrovetide martial display was a particularly potent tool for the prestige diplomacy and public image-making of kings, noblemen, and gentlemen, but it was not an avenue personally open to women. During the middle of the sixteenth century, as traditions of Shrovetide spectacle solidified at the English court, and foundered at the Scottish, the rule of both kingdoms passed into the hands of queens. What use could queens derive from a holiday with such masculine overtones? This section examines the role of Shrovetide during the reigns of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth, as well as their respective mothers, placing particular emphasis on events of the 1560s. It explores how British queens, consort and regnant, appropriated those Shrovetide traditions outside the exclusive male domain, such as banquets, weddings and their attendant revels to amplify magnificence, influence policy and construct images of queenship.

It has already been argued that the Shrovetide banquet epitomised ‘the feast’ in medieval and early modern society, and all ideas of food, hospitality, fellowship and largesse which came with it. Hosting this ‘banquet of banquets’ brought prestige, and naturally, the reigning monarch usually claimed the privileged position for his or herself. Occasionally, however, the privilege passed to consorts or courtiers. One month after their clandestine marriage in late January 1533, for example, Anne hosted Henry in her chamber with lavish banquets on Shrove Sunday and Monday. The Spanish ambassador Chapuys had little trouble reading political machinations into these proceedings, recounting details of the Monday banquet to his master, Charles V:

> …the Lady received the King at dinner in her chamber richly ornamented with tapestry, and the most beautiful sideboard of gold that ever was seen. The Lady sat close on the right of the King, and the old duchess of Norfolk on his left... During dinner the King was so much occupied with mirth and talk that he said little which could be understood ; but he said to the duchess of Norfolk, “Has not the Marchioness [Anne Boleyn] got a “grand dote and a rich marriage, as all that we see, and the rest of the plate” (with which

> they had been delighted), "belongs to the Lady?" Your Majesty will perceive the King's obstinacy…[195]

As much as any Shrovetide play, masque or joust, the banquet was a performance, and one calculated to impress and influence. Through the magnificence of the sideboard of gold, and her proximity to the king, Anne signalled her new and as yet unrecognized position of power at court. The next day Anne's ascendancy was likewise affirmed as ambassadors and courtiers dined at the 'the King's table' on 'Shrove Tuesday, when the Lady took the place usually occupied by the Queen'.[196]

The Shrovetide banquet was similarly a playing field for courtly intrigue at the Scottish court, where Mary of Guise proved adept at the game. Surviving evidence suggests that James V, after he began ruling in his own right in 1528, did not resume the Shrovetide disguisings and tournaments characteristic of his father's reign. Fastern's Eve feasts were duly celebrated, every extant royal household book showing increased expenditure on 'festum carnisprivium', but expenses were relatively modest and entertainments traditional.[197] When the court hosted English ambassadors at St Andrews on Shrove Tuesday 1536, for example, an archery contest was staged for their benefit, rather than masques or plays.[198] But as with the marriage of his parents, James V's wedding to Mary of Guise in 1538 brought change to the rhythms of celebration at the Scottish court – change of a definite French hue. After de Guise's arrival, the royal household accounts record an increase in expenditure during Shrovetide, a pattern even more evident after the king's death in 1542.[199] During the queen's regency in the later 1550s, her Carnival banquets became overt tools of policy, at least in the eyes of contemporaries. John Lesley wrote that the queen regent held 'sumptuous and magnificque banqueting' during the

---

[195] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 8 March', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533*, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1882), 97, *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol6/pp89-99 [accessed 21 August 2016].

[196] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 8 March', 95.

[197] This can be tracked in the royal household books 9'libri domicilii'): NRS: E 31/1, unfoliated Feb. 11-13 [1526]; E 31/2, fos. 59v-60r [1529]; E 31/3, fos. 55v-56r [1530]; E 31/4, 52v-53r [1533]; E 31/5, fos. 31r-32r [1534]; E 31/6, fos. 38v-39r [1535]; E 31/7, fo. 43r [1538].

[198] Thomas, 24, 207.

[199] For e.g. see increased household expenditure at Linlithgow Palace during Shrovetide 1539, the first after the marriage: NRS: E 31/8, fos. 47r-v. The only evidence of possible martial spectacles at Shrovetide in James V's reign also dates to after the queen joined the household, with jousting materials purchased on Shrove Tuesday 1540 (10 Feb): *TA*, vii. 317. After the king's death in 1542, Mary of Guise's household accounts record high expenditure at Shrovetide in comparison to other feast days. For e.g. £54 tournois on Shrove Sunday 1543, compared to £37 at Candlemas the same year: E 33/2/5, fos. 6v-7v cf. 3v-4v. The bread book of 1549 also shows the queen sponsoring a Shrove Sunday (3 March) banquet for the nuptials of the Master of Erskine, son of John, 5th Lord Erskine and of Margaret Graham: E 34/15.

season in 1559. According to him, she had hoped that such 'familiar intertenement' would keep lords from contributing to the rising Protestant reform movement in Edinburgh that would soon overthrow her rule.[200] The English ambassador Thomas Randolph would later look back on the banquets of 'the Shroftide before the trobles' in a more negative light, seeing in them a ploy to distract attention whilst the queen regent 'went aboute to suppresse Gods worde'.[201]

Mary Queen of Scots followed in her mother's footsteps after assuming personal rule in Scotland. Her use of court entertainments to convey appropriate magnificence and sometimes address political matters is well attested, but less so the part seasonal festivity played within this strategy.[202] To the ire of her detractors, Mary brought to Scotland the fashions, tastes and customs she had been raised with at the French court, including the manner and scale of Carnival celebration. Throughout her brief and tumultuous personal reign (1561-1567), Shrovetide proved the jewel of the queen's revels season, characterized yearly by weddings, masques, and tournaments set about sumptuous banquets. Sarah Carpenter notes that the novelty of Mary's revels lay in their scale and form, but so too did it lay in their seasonal festive occasion. Masques and tournaments had been held at the courts of James V, but not, as far as we know, during Shrovetide.[203] Indeed, English and Scottish observers drew direct connections between the novelty of Mary's spectacles and their Carnival setting. In 1564 Thomas Randolph wrote to William Cecil that Queen Mary 'determined to pass her time in mirth and pastimes most agreeable for that time "approchynge nere unto Shroftyde"'. Summoning the Scottish nobility to court on Shrove Sunday for this purpose she 'made them so solemn a banquet as in the remembrance of man here, except at the marriage of a prince, "the lyke was not seen," and both days following were little inferior'.[204] John Knox also disapprovingly linked Mary's court revelry to the Carnival season, commenting on the queen's first Shrovetide celebration in Scotland 1562: 'The greatness of the bancquett, and the vanitie used thairat, offended many godly. Thair began the masking, which from year to year hath continewed since'.[205] Royal household accounts confirm the majesty of Mary's Shrovetide banquets, and the special status

[200] John Lesley, *The History of Scotland: From the Death of King James I, in the Year M.CCCC.XXXVI, to the Year M.D.LXI* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830), 269.
[201]Thomas Randolph to William Cecil, 21 February 1564, TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 31v.
[202] See especially Carpenter, 'Court Entertainments'.
[203] Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 201; Carpenter, 'Plays and Playcoats'; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, 99-100. An exception may be the aforementioned payments for jousting materials on 10 February 1540: *TA*, vii. 317.
[204] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603* [*CSPS*], ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh: Lords Commissioners, 1900), ii. 41.
[205] John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848), ii, 314.

the festival enjoyed under the queen's rule. Shrove Tuesday expenditure topped a colossal £221 tournois in 1565, and £195 in 1562, about three times as much as Christmas day costs that same year (£54 tournois).[206]

Amidst the shock and awe of such extravagance lay opportunity for subtler political communication, as Thomas Randolph's letter concerning the 1562 celebrations conveys:

> upon Shrove Twesdaye at nyght, syttinge amongest the lordes at supper in the syght of this Quene [Mary], placed for that purpose, she dranke unto the Quenes Majestie [Elizabeth], and sent me the cuppe of golde which waythe xviij or xx unces.' After supper in giving her Majesty thanks, she uttered in many 'effectueus' words, her desire of perpetual amity, and talked long with me thereon in the hearing of the Duke and Huntly. I thought it my duty to signify this for your honour to report to the Queen's Majesty.[207]

As Sarah Carpenter points out in her insightful analysis of these entertainments, Mary's signal of friendship to Elizabeth through Randolph was essential to her current strategy of Anglo-Scottish amity. The ambassador had been placed deliberately at the table 'for that purpose', and the queen's post-dinner conversation with him had been staged noticeably within earshot of pro-French nobles such as the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Huntly.[208] It thus carried significance beyond but also amplified by the customary courtesies and largesse of a Shrovetide feast. Like her grandfather before her, Mary cultivated Shrovetide customs at her court as emblems of magnificence and flexible instruments of power.

Part of the grandeur and value of Mary's Shrovetide spectacles derived from the high-profile wedding celebrations of which they were often a part. As explored in previous chapters, Shrovetide capped off a culturally-contrived season of matrimony in medieval and early modern Europe, and between its festive themes and calendrical position effectively symbolised both the act and consequences of marriage. Weddings were thus a Carnival tradition just as much as tournaments or cock-fighting, and one evidently maintained in aristocratic circles. Four out of the six Shrovetides of Mary's personal rule saw marriage festivities at court, and

[206] NRS: E 33/9/4, fos. 6r-7v [6 March 1565]; E 33/6/1, unfoliated [10 February 1562]; E 33/6/7, fos. 29v-30v [Christmas Day 1562].
[207] *CSPS*, i. 603. Randolph's letter was sent to Queen Elizabeth's secretary, William Cecil.
[208] Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 208-9.

indeed, the broad story of the young queen's tumultuous reign can be told through these marital matches and the potential advantage each conveyed.

On 7 February (Shrove Saturday) 1562, Mary conferred upon her half-brother James Stewart the earldom of Mar in a public ceremony.[209] On Shrove Sunday the new earl's wedding took place in St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh. It was performed under solemn Calvinist rites, but followed paradoxically with ostentatious revels at court. [210] The banquets described above formed but a part of the spectacle enjoyed by 'the haill nobilitie' of the realm, including 'greit and divers baling and casting of fyre ballis fyrdsperis and running with horsis'.[211] Stewart was a powerful Protestant magnate and Mary's closest advisor; his favour and good faith were essential to securing her tenuous position under the new Protestant regime and maintaining her right to practice Catholicism. Beyond granting him titles and sponsoring his wedding celebrations, the queen knighted several men from Stewart's camp and household at the Shrovetide festivities.[212]

During the Shrovetide entertainments of 1564, discussed in more detail below, Mary's revels sent overt signals concerning her stance on marriage. By 1565 she was of a mind to marry again soon, and to secure advantageous marriages for her famed 'four Maries' as well. The queen first made a match for Mary Livingston and set Shrove Tuesday (March 6) as the date for the ceremony at court. She also provided Livingston with her wedding dress, a sumptuous bed of red scarlet, and a 'mask on fastronis evin' at court, probably George Buchanan's *Pompae deorum in nuptiis Mariae*.[213] Queen Mary herself began courting Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley

[209] Plans were also set in motion to eventually convey upon him the influential and lucrative earldom of Moray.
[210] Knox fulminates on this hypocrisy: *Works*, ii. 313-5.
[211] *Diurnall of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland since the death of King James the Fourth till the year MDLXXV* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833), 70.
[212] M. Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray (1531/2–1570), regent of Scotland', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, 22 September 2011 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26479. Knox, 314n.
[213] Thomas Randolph's letter on 9 January 1565: 'Lord Simple's son an Englishman born, shall be married between this and "Shrovetyde" to Lord Liveston's sister. The Queen both makes the marriage and endows them with land, also will have the marriage in Court'.: *CSPS*, ii. 113. See also Ibid, 125, 133. On the dress and bed see A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*, 8 vols. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1851-59), iv. 96; *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France*, ed. J. Robertson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1863), 30-1, 153. On the masque see *TA*, xi. 347. Buchanan's *Pompae deorum in nuptiis Mariae* has traditionally been attributed to the queen's wedding in the summer of 1565. Martin Wiggins' more recent argument (followed here) is that it was prepared and performed for Livingston's marriage. This is based on the title, which does not refer to the queen as Buchanan's other attributed work for the royal wedding does, and internal evidence which suggests four of the five Maries (including the queen) were still unwed at the time of the performance – a situation only possible, presuming the masque

during the amorous Carnival season preceding Livingston's wedding. Terming him 'the lustiest and best proportioned long man that she had seen' after first meeting on 17 February, Mary welcomed her suitor to the court at Holyrood on 24 February and danced a galliard with him the next night. As he scarcely left Mary's side until their own marriage in July, it is likely Darnley attended the Shrovetide wedding and masque the following week, a performance which openly declared the queen's intention to marry soon.[214]

On Shrove Sunday 1566, the earl of Bothwell married Jean Gordon, one of the queen's ladies in waiting, in a Protestant rites ceremony held at Holyrood Palace. Mary approved the match, provided materials for the wedding dress and hosted the nuptials and celebrations of 'greit nobilitie and magnificence'.[215] The marriage gestured the queen's new favour for Bothwell, a political maneuver which would eventually give rise to the dramatic events of the next Shrovetide.[216] In the early hours of Shrove Monday 1567, while Mary attended the royal-sponsored wedding celebrations of her *valet de chamber* Bastien Page, Darnley was strangled to death, and his temporary residence destroyed by an explosion.[217] These events, combining the extremes of bloody violence and joyous revelry so characteristic of Carnival, soon brought about Mary's own downfall; Bothwell and Mary were implicated in the murder, and after gaining divorce from his previous marriage to Jean Gordon, the earl forced a politically disastrous match with the queen. In one last tragic case of poetic symmetry, Mary met her own end during the heart of the Carnival season, executed almost twenty years to the day after Darnley's murder.[218]

Contemporary events at the English court, although admittedly less dramatic than those at the Scottish, also underscore Shrovetide's close relationship to aristocratic marriage. During her reign Queen Elizabeth hosted, attended, or otherwise showed favour towards many wedding celebrations at Shrovetide, and many more during the extended season from Epiphany to

followed the ceremony as per usual, at Livingston's March wedding: Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, no. 400.

[214] E. F. Greig, 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany [known as Lord Darnley] (1545/6–1567), second consort of Mary, queen of Scots', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, 3 January 2011 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26473.

[215] *Diurnall of Remarkable Occurrents*, 88; *CSPS*, ii. 258; *Inventaires de la Royne*, 162.

[216] A. Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), 285.

[217] The queen's sponsorship came in the form of black satin cloth for the wedding gown: *TA*, xii. 40.

[218] Mary Queen of Scots was executed on 8 February 1587. Darnley was murdered in the wee hours of 10 February 1567. For a summary of Mary's life and downfall see J. Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart] (1542–1587), queen of Scots', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. 24 May 2007 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18248.

Lent.[219] Commentary on these events implies a widely understood connection between season and practice. With words suggesting this causal link, Robert Kidman wrote to the Countess of Shrewsbury of a court wedding in 1599: 'Yesterday, being Shrove Monday, young Mr West was married to Mr Darcy's daughter of the Privy Chamber…'.[220] Richard Brackenbury, Gentleman Usher, similarly sent news to the Earl of Rutland of marriage plans for the Queen's ladies in 1577: 'I hope to see you here this merry Shrovetide. Mistress Burgh makes her offering on Monday next'.[221] According to Sir John Wynn, the queen insisted on hosting the latter Shrove Monday wedding at court, thereby 'affirming that the world shall know what was her affection to those her servants'.[222] Elizabeth also gifted her lady a wedding dress, provided a bride-groom chamber in Whitehall Palace, and had the groom knighted at court on the Shrove Sunday preceding.[223] These events gave Elizabeth, like Mary, opportunity to express appropriate princely generosity and confer favour. The plays staged during this same Shrovetide, though they have only survived in title (*The Solitary Knight, The Irish Knight, Titus and Gisippus*), obviously reflected in drama the very real ceremonies of knighthood and matrimony taking place at court on those days.[224] They thus demonstrate how court performance could be a 'symbolic setting forth' of the seasonal festive occasion while simultaneously celebrating and commenting upon pertinent current events. Within certain

[219] Examples of Shrovetide weddings which Elizabeth attended or otherwise showed favour towards took place in 1560, 1566, 1567, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1582, 1597 and 1599. See relevant years in Colthorpe, 'The Elizabethan Court Day by Day'.

[220] Letter from Robert Kidman to Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury in Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot Papers MSS 3199/929 as transcribed in M. Colthorpe '1599', 5, *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/4/4b/ECDbD_1599.pdf.

[221] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle. Vol I.*, LXIV (1888), 110-111.

[222] S. Healy, 'BULKELEY (BULKLEY), Sir Richard (1535/41-1621)', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, eds. A. Thrush and J. P. Ferris (Cambridge: CUP, 2010) https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bulkeley-sir-richard-153541-1621#footnoteref31_awrr6w1 [accessed on 11 November 2018].

[223] J. Arnold, '*Lost from her Majesties Back'. Items of Clothing and Jewels Lost or Given away by Queen Elizabeth I between 1561 and 1585* (London: Costume Society, 1980), 218; Metcalfe, 130. Treasurer of the Chamber accounts record preparations for 'a bride-groom chamber for Sir Richard Buckley at Westminster', as transcribed in M. Colthorpe, '1577', 5, *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/3/3c/ECDbD_1577.pdf.

[224] On Shrove Sunday Lord Howard's Men performed 'The Historie of the Solatarie knight' at Whitehall Palace, with the Revels Office paying 7s to 'John Edwyn for the lone of certeine Armour with a base and Targettes which the Lord Howardes seruauntes vsed in their plaie of the Solytarye knyght'. The Earl of Warwick's Men performed 'The Irisshe Knyght' on Shrove Monday, while the Children of St Pauls performed 'The historye of Titus and Gisippus' on Shrove Tuesday night. The children also performed a masque the same evening: *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. A. Feuillerat. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, vol. 21; Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1908), 270, 275. The basic chivalric themes of the first two plays are obvious, while the story of Titus and Gisippus culminates in a wedding and bedding involving disguised identity. On these plays see Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, nos. 607-610.

contexts, this capacity could be exploited for more overtly political purposes by both queens and courtiers.

Marriage and succession dominated domestic policy in Elizabethan England, particularly during the 1560s.[225] Overtures to Elizabeth to take a husband, and plots to further one suitor over another were commonplace, and it is now widely recognized that court spectacle played an important role in such machinations.[226] As Shrovetide and its more extended Carnival season were occasions imbued with ideas and customs of coupling, love and marriage, they provided an ideal annual platform for politically relevant displays and commentary on matrimony. Weddings at other occasions of course offered similar opportunities, but a look at those marriages celebrated at court with masques or plays during Elizabeth's reign shows that at least half of these occurred at Shrovetide or within the Epiphany-Lent season.[227] Not only this, Shrovetide banquets and tournaments were archetypal occasions for men to exhibit and perform generosity, virility and prowess – all desirable qualities in a suitor. It is within these two contexts then, the political and the seasonal, that we must view the content of revels and the actions of courtiers and suitors during the period.

Advocates for the suits of Prince Eric of Sweden, Robert Dudley, and the Archduke of Austria were particularly active in the Shrovetide banquets, tournaments and mimetic spectacles of the 1560s. At court wedding festivities on Shrove Sunday 1560, for example, the Swedish ambassador impressed all by supping and dancing with the bride, a lady of the queen's bedchamber.[228] Dudley likewise participated in the Shrovetide tournaments of 1560, 1562, and 1565.[229] During Shrovetide 1561, Dudley went so far as to enlist the help of the Spanish

[225] On this see especially S. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).
[226] See for e.g. S. Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *Historical Journal*, 38, 2 (1995), 257-274.
[227] The Elizabethan court was involved in at least ten aristocratic wedding celebrations involving masques or plays. Three of these took place at Shrovetide (1560, 1566, 1582), two more took place in the extended Epiphany-Lent season (1576, 1595), two in November (1565, 1573), two in July (1565, 1566) and one at Whitsuntide (1600). See relevant entries in Appendix C for more details.
[228] The marriage was between William Brooke, Lord Cobham and Frances Newton, Lady of the Bedchamber. Prince John Duke of Finland was at court to secure Elizabeth's hand for his brother, Prince Eric of Sweden. According to a detailed anonymous account of the marriage festivities: '…after dinner great dancing and other pastime, until the Evening Prayer, and then to supper, where supped with the bride the right honourable high and mighty Prince John Duke of Finland, the son to the King of Sweden, who also had danced, the afternoon, with the said bride, for the more honouring of the said marriage': BL: Add MS 6113, fo. 200v as transcribed in M. Colthorpe, '1560', 6-7, *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/b/b1/ECDbD_1560.pdf
[229] More precisely, Dudley attempted to participate. He was to be one of the jousters before the queen on Shrove Tuesday 1560, but due to an armour malfunction, he was unable to run: see the tilt list entitled 'for the

ambassador, asking him to 'request the Queen to make up her mind to marry and settle the succession, and…speak of him as favourably as he could wish'.[230] His most famous use of festive revels, however, came in 1561-2, when he was appointed Christmas Prince at the Inner Temple in London. Under his influence the gentlemen performed the play *Gorboduc* and the thematically connected masque *Beauty and Desire* for the inn's revels on Twelfth Night and then again before the queen on 18 January. Thinly veiled as drama appropriate for the season, the revels counselled Elizabeth to settle the question of succession and consider Dudley a worthy candidate for marriage.[231] This was soon followed with further success linked to festive occasion, the queen honouring Dudley on Shrove Sunday by appointing his servant Chester Herald.[232]

Dudley's efforts were evidently paying off, for at the Saint George's Day celebrations of 1562, a contingent of Knights of the Garter put forth his name as the man Elizabeth should wed. While the queen responded favourably, if cautiously, both she and Parliament continued to equivocate.[233] By 1565 marriage negotiations had re-opened with the Archduke Charles of Austria, leaving two serious potential suitors in contention. The Austrian suit was supported by the earl of Sussex, William Cecil, and other privy councilors. The newly minted earl of Leicester's opposition to such a match was personal as well as religious.[234] This Sussex-Leicester rivalry provided the backdrop for the Shrovetide revels of 1565, spectacles highly indicative of the potential efficacy of seasonal festivity to political cause. Spanish ambassador

solemnization of these marriages' in College of Arms Portfolio: undated, as transcribed in Colthorpe, '1560', 7. Dudley's contemporary household accounts note, 'To the armourer of Greenwich when your Lordship should have run at Whitehall for the bringing of your armour and mending your head-piece being broken, 10s': *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*, ed. S. Adams (Camden Fifth Ser., Vol. 6; Cambridge: CUP for the Royal Historical Society, 1995), 153. Machyn records a Shrove Tuesday joust in 1562, challenged by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Westmorland (Machyn, '1561 February 10'). We do not know who answered the challenge but considering Dudley's frequent participation in such martial activities at this time, it is likely he was among that number. He was certainly one of the challengers in the Shrovetide tournament of 1565, discussed in detail below.

[230] *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), 1558-1603* [*CSP Spain*], ed. M. A. S. Hume, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1892-1899), i. 181-2. On the political dimensions of this temporary alliance see Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 46-9.

[231] The literature on the political ramifications of these revels is extensive. See especially Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 55-8; 'Juno versus Diana', 261; Walker, *Politics of Performance*, 196–221; Streitberger, *Masters of the Revels*, 78 (footnotes 91-2).

[232] Machyn. '1561 February 8': 'Pursuivant Blanche Rose, the servant unto my Lord Robert Dudley, was created Chester herald'.

[233] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 57-65.

[234] Streitberger, *Masters of the Revels*, 77; Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 65-7.

De Silva witnessed the entertainments, writing in detail to Philip II of a dazzling array of banquets, martial displays, plays and masques presented on Shrove Tuesday.[235]

The day began when 'the party of the earl of Leicester gave a supper to the Queen in the palacs which was the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day'.[236] Jousts and a tourney on horseback followed the banquet, with the earls of Leicester, Sussex and Hunsdon acting as challengers. Surviving score cheques show that the earls, impersonating characters from the legends of Arthur and Robin Hood, jousted against twenty-two defendants, and De Silva commented that the tourney was a 'good one, as such things go here'.[237] Once it finished and Dudley had disarmed, the queen and guests returned to the earl's apartments for another supper. That evening entertainments included a play performed by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn with material supplied by the Revels Office.[238] This was followed by a masque of 'satyrs, or wild gods' and another of armed gentlemen from the earlier tourney, both parties taking turns dancing with the ladies. De Silva deemed the masking 'a very novel ball', and relayed in detail the Gray's Inn performance:

> The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, 'This is all against me'.[239]

These spectacles were replete with themes related to Shrovetide: chivalry and martial prowess enacted in the tournament and masque of gentlemen; carnivalesque sexuality performed in the satyrs coupling with the ladies; matrimony contrasted with chastity in the comedy. Nonetheless, Elizabeth clearly read into the performance political topicality and an attempt at

---

[235] *CSP Spain*, i. 404-405.
[236] Presumably the activity the day before had been a martial competition, since the 'party of the earl' and 'opponents' are referred to. Shrovetide banquets were similarly the objects of tournament wagers in James I's reign: 'Venice: March 1609', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 11, 1607-1610*, ed. H. F. Brown (London: HMSO, 1904), 238-255, *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol11/pp238-255 [accessed 12 November 2018].
[237] The characters were Sir Guy of Warwick (of Robin Hood legend), Sir Sagremor and Sir Lancerock (Arthurian knights). It is not clear which noble played which character, but Lord Hunsdon stood in for whoever was originally to joust as Sir Guy. The score cheque is in the College of Arms Portfolio as transcribed and abstracted in M. Colthorpe, '1565', 7, *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/4/4b/ECDbD_1565.pdf
[238] *Documents Relating to Elizabeth I*, 117.
[239] *CSP Spain*, i. 405.

counsel. Less certain is for whose benefit that counsel was proffered. As far as De Silva’s account allows, the play simply pressured the queen to make a choice; it did not support one choice over another. Although some historians believe the comedy was staged on Dudley’s behalf, Susan Doran has pointed out that the Austrian camp was by this time ascendant at court, and that the earl of Sussex and Cecil had much stronger patronage links to Gray’s Inn than Dudley.[240] Regardless of the powers behind the comedy, the Sussex-Leicester rivalry can be seen elsewhere in the revels; both men acted as challengers in the tournament, each seizing the opportunity to present himself as a legendary paragon of chivalry. Even the Shrove Tuesday banquets were the subject of contest, and though De Silva saw Leicester’s hosting of these as a monetary loss, it is difficult not to see the honour of hosting as a prize. Festivals like Shrovetide were thus contested fields, and courtiers and rulers alike could pick from the bundle of symbols and practices found within to seek advantage.

Dudley’s weakened position as potential consort partially stemmed from events in 1563, the year when Elizabeth first suggested him as a suitable match for Mary Queen of Scots.[241] Anglo-Scottish relations at this time revolved around the Scottish queen’s marriage, and Elizabeth held a mediating role in the decision-making process.[242] From 1562-1563, the English queen had vetoed most of Mary’s potential foreign matches and by early 1564 the queen of Scots was becoming frustrated and perhaps even ill with her predicament.[243] The English were now pushing Dudley as their preferred candidate, and it was in this context that Mary staged her Shrovetide banquets and spectacles of 1564, significantly one of the few Shrovetides in her reign without wedding celebrations. Reporting to William Cecil on the Scottish response to the potential Dudley proposal, Thomas Randolph recorded some of the details. He prefaced his account of the ‘divelyshe devises’ of Shrovetide with a bit of court gossip on their assumed political motivations: ‘lyttle good some saye is intended to some or other’.[244] Such suspicions aside, the ambassador was impressed by the banquet, which proceeded ‘with joy and mirth, marvellous sights and shows, singular devices; nothing left undone either to fill our bellies, feed our eyes, or content our minds’.[245]

[240] Doran, ‘Juno versus Diana’, 264n.
[241] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 64-5.
[242] This role derived from Mary’s position in the English line of succession. If the Queen of Scots did not wish to have her position as heir threatened, she would need to have her suitors screened by the English: Goodare, ‘Mary [Mary Stewart] (1542–1587), queen of Scots’; Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 64-5.
[243] Carpenter, ‘Performing Diplomacies’, 212.
[244] TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 31v.
[245] TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 32r.

The Queen dined privately with her chief lords and ladies, she and her ‘four Maries’ dressed all in black and white. Randolph explains that he was seated with the queen purposefully ‘that she might speak with me, as she did much of the dinner time’. Three courses were served in a ‘straynge order’, and between each course characters from a masque appeared whilst waiters ‘apparelled all in white and black’ sang attendant Italian and Latin verses.[246] Blind Cupid appeared first with warnings of the dangers of love, often ‘made master by vain people’.[247] Chastity in the form of a ‘fayer younge maid’ followed the second course, heralded as a ‘tamer of sweet love’ and a pathway to eternal salvation. Finally, a young child emerged as Time, one who ‘reaps all things with his scythe’ but cannot ‘destroy hoary faith, nor the constancy of hearts’. The intended meaning behind the show was all but spelled out in the final two lines of Time’s song:

> Unsullied, the sincere faith which has bound together British queens will endure to later ages. Let the final ending of all things confound heaven and earth, the Queen of Scots will love the Queen of England, and the Queen of England the Queen of Scots.

After the masque, Queen Elizabeth was ‘drank unto openlye, not one of 300 persons or mor, but harde the words spoken and saw the cuppes passe betweene’. Once the banquet ended Randolph thanked Queen Mary personally for the honour she had done his sovereign, to which the queen replied, ‘it was more in harte then outer showe, and that shall these verses testifie’.[248] She handed the ambassador the song lyrics, who then sent them to Elizabeth by way of Cecil.

Mary’s Shrovetide spectacles, from the banquet to the masque, were choreographed to send an overarching message to those in attendance and abroad at the English court: the queen wished the amity between England and Scotland to continue. While undoubtedly an expression of desired friendship, and therefore political alliance between Elizabeth and Mary, the masque also commented upon the Scottish marriage situation at large. The exact nature of this commentary is difficult to discern; as Sarah Carpenter points out, the performance exhibits an

[246] TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 32v. George Buchanan wrote the Latin verses, printed in R. Keith, *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1845), ii, 220. Martin Wiggins suggests the Italian verse may have been composed by David Riccio: Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, no. 375. The queen’s tailor also made costumes and decorations for the masque and banquet: *Inventaires de la Royne*, 144-5.
[247] Translations of the Italian and Latin derive from the hypertext critical edition: D. F. Sutton, ‘George Buchanan, Five Masques’, *The Philological Museum* (University of Birmingham, 19 September 2005) http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#5 [accessed 12 November 2018].
[248] TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 32v.

ambivalence all too common in court pageantry of the time.[249] Nonetheless, the political topicality of the spectacle was created from imagery and customs native to Shrovetide; reading the masque within this seasonal context might offer answers.

As with *Juno and Diana* at the English court a year later, the masque contained ciphers for Carnival and Lent, in Cupid and Chastity respectively. Unlike in the Gray’s Inn comedy, however, here Lent’s Chastity was given the upper hand as ‘tamer of love’. This could be read as Mary’s deference to Elizabeth’s authority in the marriage matter. At this time, however, contemporary opinion was that Elizabeth would surely wed; she was thus not yet regarded a symbol of chastity.[250] Perhaps more likely, favouring Chastity signalled Mary’s desire to remain a widow in the face of the choices offered her, namely Robert Dudley. According to Randolph, Mary was already showing her opposition towards the arrangement.[251] By extension, the final verse beseeched Elizabeth to continue their bond of affection regardless of any choice Mary might make. Time rendered Lent or Carnival but a temporary winner in their annual battle, subject to the irrepressible cycle of the seasons. So too did Time render the triumph of Chastity or Cupid fleeting in the end. Bonds of mutual love, however, could not be destroyed by Time’s decay, and as the Shrovetide marriage provided the only lasting answer to the sexual desires and frustrations of the season, so did continued mutual love between Elizabeth and Mary offer the only answer for their diplomatic quagmire. Paradoxically, the Shrovetide masque declined marriage on the one hand while espousing a symbolic marriage of the two queens on the other.[252] Regardless of the exact meaning behind the pageantry, Mary clearly wanted Elizabeth to receive and understand the message, whether through the audience or the written verses. For queens accustomed to near-annual Shrovetide weddings and wedding-revels at court, the festive language would have been easily recognizable and translatable. Indeed, it was an international language, for on that same Shrove Sunday the

[249] Carpenter, ‘Performing Diplomacies’, 212.
[250] According to Susan Doran: ‘Many masques and plays in the I 560s…should be viewed as part of the general pressure on the queen to marry. In none of them is there any hint of the iconography of Astraea or the Virgin Queen which was to appear later in art, literature and entertainments, since in this decade it was assumed that Elizabeth's proper destiny was marriage, and indeed most of the writers or patrons of these early works supported the suit of a particular candidate’: ‘Juno versus Diana’, 265.
[251] Before his description of the banquet and masque, Randolph reports at length on Mary’s objections to the Dudley match, including: ‘The Quens noble stomacke cane never imbase ytself so lowe as to marrie in place inferiour to her self’: TNA: SP 52/9, fo. 28r.
[252] Sarah Carpenter points out that it had been jokingly lamented before that one of the queens was not a man, so that they could ‘mayke an ende of all debates’: ‘Performing Diplomacies’, 214.

French court at Fountainebleau was entertained with three *intermèdes* on Love, Chastity and the transitory nature of life.[253]

The topical commentary offered by Buchanan's masque in 1564 is also echoed in contemporary Shrovetide wedding celebrations of the English and Scottish court. The revels for the nuptials of the earl of Southhampton and Mary Browne in 1566, for example, counselled Elizabeth to marry and secure the succession.[254] Likewise, the masque performed at Mary Livingston's Shrove Tuesday wedding of 1565 announced the intention of the remaining Maries (including the queen) to leave Diana's company for Venus's:

> In place of one Mary give her many, so she may grow a new crop of brides for Venus, so the choruses of both goddesses may flourish. Thus contrary elements change into their opposites, they busily destroy themselves, and are renewed by their destruction.[255]

In this last line of Neoplatonic sentiment, the annual cycle of conflict, destruction and renewal between Carnival and Lent parallels the dichotomy between chastity and love, with resolution offered through Shrovetide's 'chaste marriage-bed'.[256]

Historians have rightly cautioned against reflexively reading topicality into mimetic performances staged for weddings.[257] Naturally, general allusions to the benefits of marriage would be expected from wedding-masques, and comedies often resolved in matrimony. Nonetheless, political intent was undeniably perceived and overtly presented in many of the wedding spectacles of the 1560s. What sets works such as *Juno and Diana*, *Gorboduc*, *Beauty and Desire,* Buchanan's masque of Cupid, Chastity and Time, and the French *intermedes* apart is that they were not performed for wedding celebrations. They were, in effect, wedding revels sans wedding, but comprehensible within the seasonal setting of Shrovetide or the extended

[253] These were performed before Catherine de Medici and the young Charles IX, marking the beginning of a two-year tour of France: *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine De' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564-6*, eds. V. E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 24-5.
[254] Streitberger, *Masters of the Revels,* 77 (endnote 89).
[255] Sutton, 'George Buchanan, Five Masques' http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#2 [accessed 12 November 2018].
[256] Ibid: 'Apollo: Cease your fear, Diana, and hear my words, which I sing for you with my prophetic mouth. Juno calls, bidding your Marys become wives, and to submit to the laws of the chaste marriage-bed. They will repay you with many little Marys and Mariuses, and your choruses will grow greater. The first years of a new generation will always serve you, but the next belong to Juno, and the Fates refuse you the rest'.
[257] See Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', 265; Bevington, *Tudor Drama,* 5, 8-9.

Carnival season. They thereby show the potential efficacy of seasonality for topical and sometimes political causes. Shrovetide brought with it a dedicated collection of symbols and customary practices pertinent to the political landscape of the 1560s, concerned as England and Scotland were with the marriage and succession of their respective queens. This association between festive season and practice was constantly reinforced during the decade with Shrovetide marriage celebrations at court. Illustrative of this, on the same Shrove Tuesday when Elizabeth watched the debate between Juno and Diana, the very same debate took place in front of Mary, concluding with a pointed statement about the Queen of Scots: ‘this one too is casting her eye on a marriage’.[258]

Shrovetide provided appropriate imagery to express and underline political ideas, while also allowing plausible deniability for the agents behind such efforts. Offering counsel to princes through spectacle was an established practice, but it could be a risky endeavour if the prince felt a line had been crossed.[259] At the royal court as elsewhere, seasonal festivity could act as a guise, veiling potentially controversial subjects with the respectability and harmlessness of seasonally customary symbols and practices. Mimetic spectacles at the Scottish court demonstrate that queens could take an active role in harnessing this potential, while those at the English court show a more contested field open to courtiers and magnates. More generally, Shrovetide banquets and weddings offered Scottish and English queens alike something they could control and orchestrate to convey favour, reward loyalty, and promote a magnificent image of queenship.

Carnival Crowned: Shrovetide and the Stuart Appropriation of Festive Time

The death of Queen Elizabeth and the unification of the crowns under King James VI and I brought radical change to the traditional season of court revels in Britain. Before 1603, production of court spectacle at the English court followed certain conventions, being occasional and largely limited to extraordinary state events and ordinary religious feast days. Festivals celebrated with secular spectacles at court altered over time, but by the end of

[258] Sutton, ‘George Buchanan, Five Masques’: ‘Talthubius: Now let another marriage-hymn make the air resound, as another Mary is wed new with marriage-torches. As much as golden Venus adds people together in marriage, so much she subtracts from your number, chaste Diana, and this one too is casting her eye on a marriage’.
[259] For an example of the risks of overstepping during seasonal revels, see Master of the Revels Sir Thomas Benger’s imprisonment in the Tower following a Shrove Tuesday masque gone wrong in 1567: Streitberger, *Masters of the Revels,* 75; C.E. McGee, ‘Sir Thomas Benger: Ups and Downs of a Master of the Revels’, *Notes & Queries*, 58, 2 (2011), 217–18.

Elizabeth’s reign they were mostly limited to the Accession Day tilts, and nine other feast days spread across Christmastide, Shrovetide and occasionally Candlemas. Very rarely the festivals of May Day and Whitsuntide were also solemnized with outdoor spectacles such as tournaments or animal-baiting. Over the course of the Jacobean and Caroline eras, however, this traditional court calendar underwent major revision. The series of feast days celebrated with spectacle at court expanded to regularly include Hallowmas, Eastertide and Whitsuntide under James, and Michaelmas under Charles.[260] Even more striking, spectacles were no longer confined to traditional or extraordinary occasions. The court began to colour in between the lines, as they were, and by the reign of Charles one could expect revels, usually plays, on any day between Michaelmas and Ash Wednesday and even within the fasting season of Lent.[261] Spectacles became particularly prevalent between Twelfth Night and Shrove Tuesday, resulting in an extended Carnival season of revels unlike anything seen at British courts before. This final section theorizes why this transition occurred and interrogates the relevancy of Shrovetide proper within this expanded season.

Certain practical changes can partly explain the Stuart’s ever-growing schedule of court revelry. Firstly, James and Charles were generally more willing and able to expend large sums on court spectacle than Elizabeth, the frugality of the latter’s Office of Revels being well attested.[262] Strictly from the perspective of economic determinism, more funds and a greater inclination towards conspicuous consumption likely resulted in a longer revels season with more performances. Secondly, the Stuart royal family was much larger than its recent predecessors, and this resulted in a greater number of royally patronized playing companies, including the King’s, Queen’s, Prince’s, and Duke of York’s Men, among others.[263] As the attendant number of plays performed at court multiplied, more occasions would have been needed as outlets for this patronage. Thirdly, the patronage system itself was markedly different for the Stuarts than it had been for most of the Tudor monarchs. By the time James succeeded to the English throne, royal playing companies were firmly connected to the burgeoning

[260] *MSC XIII*, xxii.
[261] See Figure 5.
[262] According to W. R. Streitberger, ‘Jacobean masks were the most expensive revels to be mounted at court since the 1520s, and were part of a pattern of extravagant expenditure which precipitated a financial crisis in 1617’: *Court Revels*, 230. For the most recent analysis of the effect of the 1590s financial crisis on Elizabethan court revels see Streitberger, *Masters of the Revels*, 186-217. Reforms chiefly resulted in the decline of internally funded (i.e. by the Revels Office) masques in favour of cheaper plays. Although this remained the production pattern for the Revels Office under the Stuarts, the latter kings reinstituted expensive masques, but under the supervision of high-ranking courtiers with support from the Office of the Works.
[263] *MSC XIII*, xxi.

professional theatres of London. This commercialization of drama rapidly divested theatre from its traditional position as something rare and occasional, closely bound to the festive calendar.[264] Within this market economy, Londoners could see plays regularly, if they possessed the time and money. [265] In this sense the sudden expansion of the Stuart season simply brought court practice in line with wider entertainment conventions prompted by socio-economic change, as theatre developed from an occasional spectacle into a leisure activity.[266]

Finances, patronage and the developing London leisure economy were undoubtedly contributing factors to the observed sudden growth, but comparison to revels in prior reigns suggests some limitations to this explanatory framework. Loose purse strings, for instance, cannot fully account for where, or rather when money is spent. Henry VIII was also a big spender who oversaw an expansion of the revels calendar, but he largely played by the rules in his choice of occasion. He very rarely staged revels outside of traditional festive time, instead regularly investing novel forms of spectacle into pre-existing but previously underserved festivals like Shrovetide.[267] Similarly, Henry VII had a royal family of comparable size to James I, and had a similar need to spread patronage around to different playing companies.[268] Nonetheless, occasions of performance were still largely limited to the Twelve Days during his reign.[269] While the rise of a market for theatre of course made the Stuart patronage system radically different from that of a century prior, this cannot account alone for the new revel calendar either. Professional play-houses were a London fixture from the 1570s onward, and during the final two decades of Elizabeth's reign court revels were largely produced by the professional companies who resided therein. Despite this, the rhythms of the Elizabethan court calendar remained unchanged: Accession Day, Christmastide, Shrovetide were the staples, with performances in between a rarity.[270] With these limitations in mind it is necessary to turn

[264] On the conceptual shift from festive activity to leisure activity see Lin, 212-229.
[265] Ann Jennalie Cook argues that only a privileged section of society could actually afford this: *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576–1642* (Princeton NJ, 1981). However, her argument has received some pushback from more recent studies of the earnings and lifestyles of the urban commons: J. Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 101–3.

[266] On the place of playhouses in the wider growth of an early modern leisure economy in London, see R. Ashton, 'Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *London Journal*, 9, 1 (1983), 3-19.
[267] During Henry VIII's reign, 89% of documented revels were planned or performed for festive or state occasions. Based on Appendix C.
[268] Kipling, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage', 150-155; Steitberger, *Court Revels*, 48-50.
[269] See Figure 5 above.
[270] See Figure 5 above.

back to the change in festive tradition itself to help explain the sudden growth of the revels season in the early seventeenth century.

Stuart efforts to enlarge and alter the traditional court revels season were immediate and drastic. Although the 1603-4 season commenced at court as normal on 26 December, it continued unabated after Christmastide's official end, with five performances between Twelfth Night and Candlemas. All told there were at least twenty-one dramatic performances in total that season, and according to Lady Arabella Stuart as many as '30 playes' had been planned. For comparison, Elizabeth enjoyed twelve spectacles during the 1601-2 season.[271] The next year saw boundaries pushed further, as the season began with a performance of Shakespeare's *Othello* on 'Hallamas Day' (1 November). At least twenty-three more performances followed throughout the months of November, December, January and February, including a final play on the first Tuesday in Lent.[272] Although Hallowmas had long been the official opening of the winter revels season, heretofore it was only an occasion for appointing the Lord of Misrule or commencing material preparations for plays and masques.[273] Actual court entertainments rarely, if ever, started before Christmas and only with the advent of Elizabethan Accession triumphs were spectacles of any kind annually held in November. Likewise, revels were almost never performed during the solemnities of Lent, or in the work days between major festivals.[274] In all these ways the Jacobean court broke with tradition in its first two years. The deliberate and calculated nature of this break is suggested in a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, dated to 5 January 1608:

> All the Holidays there were Plays…The King was very earnest to have one on Christmas-night; tho', as I take it, he and the Prince received that day; but the Lords told him it was not the fashion. Which answer pleased him not a whit; but said, "What do you tell me of the fashion? I will make it a fashion." [275]

Although James did not successfully make Christmas-night plays fashionable at court, he was clearly interested in shaping tradition to his will. In addition to staging plays annually on All

[271] *MSC XIII*, 3; Steele, 134; Appendix C.
[272] *MSC XIII*, 7; Steele, 144.
[273] See for e.g. the appointments of Lords of Misrule in Henry VII's reign versus the payments for their 'besynrs in Cristenmas' in Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 238-9, 242, 245-6, 248, 250-1, 253-4.
[274] See Figure 5 above.
[275] Steele, 156.

Hallows and throughout November, December, January and February, the court held feats of activity or animal blood sports in Whitsuntide from the beginning of the reign, and in Eastertide from 1606 onwards. As far as records show, neither of these were annual traditions in the Tudor period, but by 1614 (Easter) and 1616 (Whitsuntide) they had come under the official supervision of the Revels Office.[276] James thus expanded his programme of revels incrementally, adding holidays and work days alike over time. Charles would continue this practice, ordering the Lord Chamberlain to move the official beginning of the revels season to Michaelmas in 1628, and taking in spectacles on that festival several times. He also instituted plays in place of bear and bull-baiting at Eastertide, ever increasing the amount of mimetic display at court.[277] All told the gradual Stuart expansion can be put into numbers by looking at the amount of days the Office of Revels attended each year. Over the 1604-1605 season, it attended for 107 days, in 1615-1616 for 129 days, and in 1628-9 for 148 days.[278] Perhaps the most striking element of this expansion was the establishment of a true extended Carnival season from Twelfth Night until Shrove Tuesday.

Whereas the Tudor courts had very infrequently held revels between Twelfthtide and Shrovetide, excepting Candlemas, this soon became the norm under the Stuarts. At least eight spectacles were staged between the end of Christmastide and the beginning of Shrovetide in 1608, nine in 1637, and an extraordinary seventeen in 1612.[279] Although not always as packed as in the latter year, the extended Carnival was nonetheless customary enough by the reign of Charles to inspire this comment from the character of Momus in Thomas Carew's masque *Coelum Britanicum*, presented at court on Shrove Tuesday, 1634:

> Know (gay people) that though your Poets who enjoy by Patent a particular privilege to draw downe any of the Deities from Twelfthnight till Shrove-Tuesday, at what time there is annually a most familiar enter course between the two Courts [of the gods and of Charles], have as yet never invited me to these Solemnities…[280]

[276] *MSC XIII*, xxii.
[277] *MSC XIII*, xxii, 96.
[278] The length of a season for the Office of Revels could fluctuate considerably with the date of Easter. For a fair comparison, seasons have been chosen where Ash Wednesday fell on similar dates. On 13 February for 1604-1605, on 14 February for 1615-1616, and on 18 February for 1628-1629. See *MSC XIII*, 7, 73, 96.
[279] *MSC XIII*, 25, 47-8, 138.
[280] Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britanicum A masque at White-Hall in the Banquetting-House, on Shrove-Tuesday-night, the 18. of February, 1633* (London, 1634), 4-5.

Had such a masque been presented at Elizabeth's court, the line would probably have read 'on Twelfthnight *or* Shrove-Tuesday'. For example, when the 'Prince of Purpoole', the Gray's Inn Lord of Misrule, presented Shrovetide entertainments to the Queen in 1595, these came only after the mock monarch's triumphant return from a 'most tedious and hazardous Journey…into Russia' undertaken between Christmastide and Candlemas.[281] Thus, for Elizabethan courtiers Christmastide and Shrovetide were two separate and distinct festivals, each characterized by mimetic play and spectacle, but divided by anywhere between one to two months of relative normalcy. For the Caroline gallant, however, the two festivals had become bookends to an interconnected festive period of spectacle at court. This Carnival season was recognized as such by the resident ambassadors of other European powers, particularly the Venetians. Girolamo Lando wrote in December of 1619 of certain masques to be presented 'towards the end of the carnival' while Anzolo Correr wrote the following on 9 January 1635: 'at present they are devoting most of their time to the jollities of the carnival, not a day passing without dancing and comedies at court'. The dates of these latter letters suggest an extended and elastic Carnival, rather than one fixed to the final three days of Shrovetide. This novel state of affairs brought the English court in line with the courts of other European powers. [282]

Previous sections have argued that monarchs such as Henry VIII, James IV and Mary Queen of Scots actively expanded the season of revels at their respective courts because spectacle was instrumental to their rulership and policy. It was therefore advantageous to stage as much of it as possible and to promote appropriate occasions like Shrovetide to do so. By adding more feast days to the annual revels season, they effectively widened their platforms for aggrandisement and display. Although this 'appropriation of festive time' took on new religious and political dimensions after the Reformation, in the context of the royal court new holidays like Elizabeth's Accession Day served in much the same way as older feast days: they created additional vehicles for elite display and prestige. Viewed within this larger history, the expanding Stuart court calendar makes sense. James and Charles added traditional holidays to the season like All Hallows, Eastertide and Michaelmas, but they also helped redraw the parameters of festive time itself, changing the appropriate annual occasion for spectacle from a series of feast days into a season of festivity. Under the Stuarts seasonal festivity did not so much 'lose its importance' to court performance but rather underwent a change in definition,

[281] *Gesta Grayorum, 1688*, ed. W.W. Greg (Oxford: OUP for the Malone Society, 1914), 54-5.
[282] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice [CSP Venice]*, ed. A. B Hinds, 38 vols. (London: HMSO, 1924), xvi, 102-3; xxiii, 323.

becoming broader and less anchored to specific occasions.[283] In effect courtiers turned spectacle into leisure, thereby increasing the scope of elite privilege. These actions made the revels season into a more impressive and effective tool for prestige diplomacy. Considering the contemporary clash between Puritan and Laudian sentiments, particularly over the royal *Declaration of Sports*, this expansion of the court revels season likely had broader political motivations as well.[284]

Although festivals like Shrovetide lost their monopoly on court spectacle during the Jacobean era, they did not lose their capacity to be affective and effective instruments of royal policy and image making. Plays proliferated at court, but masques and martial displays were still relatively few and usually staged during seasonal festivals. Feast days thus formed the highlights of the larger season, and masques were often specially planned and produced for performance on these occasions. Under James, Twelfthtide and Shrovetide became the jewels in the crown of seasonal entertainment, serving as premiere and finale respectively for the Carnival season. Indeed, over 38% of all Jacobean masques produced at court were planned or performed for these two occasions.[285] The two festivals shared a natural affinity, as they still do now, with masques held on Twelfthtide sometimes performed again during Shrovetide. Nor did these seasonal occasions serve as colourless backdrops to the revels performed. As Rudolph Hassel has convincingly argued, plays and especially masques produced for Epiphany and Shrovetide were often 'intimately related to their unique festival occasion', filled with carnivalesque dichotomy and grotesquery.[286] Beyond an occasion for affective drama, Shrovetide also endured as the archetypal setting of the banquet, tournament and wedding. Echoing their predecessors, various members of the Stuart royal family used these traditional characteristics of the holiday to their advantage.

Shrovetide martial display, as previously noted, saw its final flourishing at the British court under Prince Henry's patronage, with running at the ring in 1609, 1611 and 1612.[287] In 1617,

[283] The quote is from Hassel, 4. He sees (and rather laments) in this calendrical shift a decline in the influence of seasonal festivity on court performance: 'the festival performance begins to lose its importance during this first part of James's reign as the central and isolated highlight of the dramatic season'.
[284] On the wider political significance of recreation and the festive calendar during the early Stuart period see especially Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, 153-199; L. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1-23.
[285] Based on the calendar of masques in Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, 358-376.
[286] Hassel, 54-76, 112-39, quote at 113. See also B. Ravelhofer, 'Bureaucrats and Courtly Cross-Dressers in the Shrovetide Masque and The Shepherd's Paradise', *English Literary Renaissance* 29.1 (1999), 87-94, esp. 93-4.
[287] Young, 206-7.

Queen Anne hosted the king at her lodgings in Somerset House with a sumptuous Shrove Tuesday banquet and entertainment. According to Edmund Howes, the king was so impressed with this show of hospitality he immediately renamed the building 'Denmark House' in his wife's honour.[288] More striking however, was the decision to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick V, Elector Palatine on the auspicious date of 14 February 1613, both St Valentine's Day and Shrove Sunday. James spared no expense in making these proceedings the height of courtly spectacle, and over nine thousand pounds went towards the 'showes on land and water, before, and after the wedding, as also…maskes and reuells in his Highnes court, with the running at the ring, by the Kings Maiestie, the Palsegraue, Prince Charles, and diuers others of the nobilitie' (**Fig. 14**).[289] Spanning Shrove Saturday to Tuesday, celebrations were staged closely in line with the seasonal festival, an occasion one observer noted as being 'of pleasure, and jollitie by custome, but farre more delightfull by reason of this magnificent mariage'.[290] Although the wedding was an extraordinary dynastic event, as we have seen in this chapter the choice of Shrovetide was entirely appropriate, even ordinary. According to the Venetian ambassador, Frederick himself 'begged that the marriage…take place on the Sunday in Carneval'.[291] The wedding was thus strategically placed to coincide with annual international celebrations and customs symbolizing love, matrimony, harmony and courtly splendour. The connections between the event and seasonal festivity did not escape contemporary notice, and if Shrovetide 1613 was made 'by farre more delightful' by the royal wedding, so too was the wedding made by far more resonant by its seasonal context. [292]

[288] John Stow, *The abridgement of the English Chronicle, first collected by M. Iohn Stow, and after him augmented with very many memorable antiquities, and continued with matters forreine and domesticall, vnto the beginning of the yeare, 1618*, ed. Edmund Howes (London, 1618), 562.

[289]K. Curran, 'James I and Fictional Authority at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations', *Renaissance Studies*, 20, 1 (2006), 51. Quote from the title page of the triumph book, *The mariage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, vpon Shrouesunday last VVith the shovves on land and water, before, and after the wedding, as also the maskes and reuells in his Highnes court, with the running at the ring, by the Kings Maiestie, the Palsegraue, Prince Charles, and diuers others of the nobilitie.* (London, 1613). On the preparations, production and performances of these wedding revels see Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics*, 89-128; 'James I and Fictional Authority', 51-67.

[290] *The mariage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter*, sig. B3v: 'The next day being Shroue-tuesday, a day of pleasure, and jollitie by custome, but farre more delightfull by reason of this magnificent mariage, which moued many occasions of mirth in his Highnes court…'.

[291] 'Venice: February 1613', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 12, 1610-1613*, ed. H. F. Brown (London, 1905), pp. 488-497. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol12/pp488-497 [accessed 3 October 2018].

[292] For e.g. John Donne particularly emphasized the seasonal aspect of the celebrations in his poem on the nuptials: 'An Epithalamion, or Marriage Song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being Married on St Valentine's Day', in *Poems of John Donne*, ed. E. K. Chambers, 2 vols. (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1896), 83-87.

FIGURE 14 Etching of Princess Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick V, Elector Palatine wedding procession on 14 February 1613. Possibly by Abraham Hogenberg. Credit: The Met CC0 1.0

While it held a prominent position in the Jacobean court calendar, Shrovetide’s political significance arguably reached its apotheosis during the reign of Charles I. Over half of all recorded Caroline masques – affairs generally less numerous but more ostentatious than their Jacobean forbears – were produced for Twelfthtide or Shrovetide. The latter three-day festival was by far the most popular occasion for them (38% of all recorded productions).[293] These were the occasions when king and queen most frequently performed in masques themselves, and indeed one driving force behind Shrovetide’s rise in stature seems to have been Queen Henrietta Maria and her French retinue. On Shrove Tuesday 1626, the queen and her ladies performed personally before the king at Somerset House in the first major masque of the reign. Highlighting again the strong correlation between French influence and the periodic resurgence of Shrovetide spectacle at British courts, *Artenice* was a pastoral play written by French poet and aristocrat Honorat de Bueil, seigneur de Racan and first staged at the French court seven years prior.[294] It ushered in a new tradition wherein the king and queen personally presented masques to one another as Twelfthtide and Shrovetide gifts. During Charles’s personal rule this tradition followed an archetypal pattern. Charles typically staged his masque around

[293] Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, 358-376.
[294]For a detailed examination of the pastoral/masque and its French origins, see K. R. Britland, ‘*Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 35-52.

Twelfthtide and Henrietta Maria usually performed hers during Shrovetide. The latter relationship was particularly strong, for nine out of the total sixteen masques in which the queen performed occurred at Shrovetide. [295]

Considering the characteristic themes, customs and imagery of these gift-giving holidays, this pattern seems calculated, rather than coincidental. Epiphany, the Feast of Kings was an appropriate setting for Charles to annually embody eternal kingship, as well as symbolically bring to heel the carnivalesque excess ushered in by the date. Shrovetide also amplified Henrietta Maria's performances. It evoked the power of the love of King and Queen, the harmony borne of matrimonial bonds, the fertility of such union, and the stability this offered the realm.[296] Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong have argued that the queen's court revels acted as 'political assertion, exactly consonant with, and indeed implied by, the King's absolute monarchy…about the Queen revolved all passion, controlled and idealised by her Platonic beauty and virtue, as about the King all intellect and will'.[297] Within this model the potential efficacy of Carnival, as concept and occasion, stands clear. As seen throughout this chapter, the seasonal context of Shrovetide bred romantic triumphs uniting Beauty and Desire and Neoplatonic restorations of harmony out of discord. At the annual meeting of Carnival and Lent 'contrary elements change into their opposites… busily destroy themselves, and are renewed by their destruction'.[298] For the Caroline court, Shrovetide and the Carnival season was a medium actively promoted and embraced to further the current political aim: the symbolic destruction of change and disorder in favour of eternal and absolute harmony under the divine rule of the Stuart royal family. Fitting in this sense, the final Stuart masque at Whitehall, *Salmacida Spoila* was staged on Shrove Tuesday 1640 after a Twelfth Night premiere. It was performed not by the king or queen alone, but the entire royal family.[299] Civil

[295] Charles's personal performances in Twelfthtide or Shrovetide masques included 1628 (Feb 26), 1631 (Jan 9), 1632 (Jan 8), 1638 (Jan 7), 1634 (Feb 18), 1640 (Jan 21 but intended for TN, Feb 18). Henrietta's Shrovetide or Twelfthtide performances included 1626 (Feb 21), 1631 (Feb 22), 1632 (Feb 14), 1633 (March 5), 1635 (Feb 10-14), 1638 (Feb 6), 1640 (Jan 21 and Feb 18): Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, 358-376; Ravelhofer, 94.
[296] J. Chibnall, 'The Function of the Caroline Masque Form', in D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque,* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 90-1.
[297] Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 55.
[298] Sutton, 'George Buchanan, Five Masques' http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#2 [accessed 12 November 2018].
[299] The first performance was intended for Twelfth Night but moved to 21 January. William Davenant, *Salmacida Spoila. A Masque. Presented by the King and Queenes Majesties, at White-hall, On Tuesday the 21. Day of Janurary 1639* (London, 1640). According to a letter from Secretary Vane to Sir Thomas Roe dated 14 February: 'Their Majesties, with their royal children, are in perfect health, and for their recreation intend to dance again their mask this Shrovetide…': *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40,* ed. W. D. Hamilton (London: HMSO, 1877), 459.

War soon brought an end to over a century-and-a-half of continuous development in British Shrovetide court spectacles, but irrepressible as Carnival itself, they would return with the Restoration and persist into the eighteenth century.

Conclusions

Shrovetide was celebrated at British royal courts with great pomp and fanfare from the medieval through the early modern period, but the manner and scale of these celebrations changed considerably over time. Medieval elite practices were essentially separate, grander forms of those seasonally pursued by British common people: feasting, hunting, gaming and sport. The chief Shrovetide spectacles of medieval courts and households, those events set apart by their magnificence and spectatorship, were tournaments, cock-fights and feasts. While the latter two traditions endured throughout the periods in question, the former practice of Shrovetide tournaments mostly disappeared in the fifteenth century. Under James IV and Henry VIII, the tradition was revived, waxing and waning over the next century in line with royal and aristocratic interest. The latter kings also oversaw the sudden introduction and drastic growth of Shrovetide drama and disguisings at court, products of wider theatrical and humanistic trends but also concerted royal efforts to create internationally relevant Renaissance courts. Shrovetide mimetic spectacle oscillated at the unstable Scottish courts but solidified as an annual tradition at the English by the middle of the sixteenth century. The latter was chiefly precipitated by Henry VIII’s interest in the festival, and the development of a permanent Office of Revels which institutionalized festive traditions once largely in the hands of royal discretion.

By way of Shrovetide’s increased significance, the English court revels season began growing outwards from its early Tudor nexus of Christmastide, and at the end of Elizabeth’s reign included annual spectacles at Accession Day in November, Christmastide, Shrovetide, and occasionally Candlemas. The Tudor season followed wider customary rules whereby spectacle and revelry were generally reserved for religious festivals and events of significance to dynasty and state. The Stuarts actively broke with this convention, eventually staging annual revels anytime from Michaelmas to Shrovetide, and firmly adding Eastertide and Whitsuntide to the remit. In this new order, calendrical emphasis arguably shifted from Christmastide to Shrovetide and an extended Carnival season. By the reign of Charles, the latter was the highlight of the court year, with Shrove Tuesday masques performed personally by king and queen affirming their own divine right to rule.

Within this chapter it has been argued that the change and evolution of Shrovetide and British court calendars resulted from a convergence of factors, including the influence of humanism, the advent of a Protestant calendar, the growth of a leisure economy, and constant cultural competition and exchange with other European powers, particularly the French court. It has also been argued that in complement to these factors the general and specific political efficacy of seasonal festive occasion must be considered. Court spectacle was a powerful tool for both aggrandisement and pointed political commentary, and in a society where the production of revels was still tethered to appropriate occasion, seasonal festive time itself was a valuable commodity. By appropriating feast days to the annual revel calendar or reshaping the very meaning of festive time, royals created additional platforms to display magnificence and munificence, to curry and confer favour through public spectacle.

The imagery and customs of these festivals could also inflect or amplify topical ideas through revelry. Feast days and festive seasons were not all one in the same or interchangeable; whether in liturgy or in popular tradition, each came with attendant customs, and perceived meanings. Such cyclical context can never be divorced from the temporally contingent concerns of politics or social relations, as artists and participants of revels often put the former to work for the latter. This process is visible in the sponsorship of Shrovetide tournaments by Henry VIII, James IV, and other elites eager to cultivate public personas of chivalry and prowess. It is visible in the Shrovetide weddings and banquets hosted by English and Scottish queens attempting to signal prestige, reward loyalty or send political messages. It is visible in the Shrovetide drama and masques of Henry VIII, Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth, Charles and Henrietta Maria, which all at times used the occasion and themes of Carnival to promote images of rulership, or even further specific policies. In this sense, Shrovetide customs were harnessed by royals and courtiers as specialised instruments of statecraft or political ambition, and such patronage partly contributed to change or stasis in court tradition overtime. Shrovetide was thus not just an occasion of ritual enactment, but a contested and dynamic field for the acquisition of elite power. But though Shrovetide and its customs could be put to work for royal rule and order, so too could it be appropriated for the opposite aim. Even as Caroline masques assuredly evoked princely control over discord each Shrove Tuesday, outside the closed gates of Whitehall crowds simultaneously rained down chaos and destruction in the streets, proving the royal spectacle but a farce. It is to these Shrovetide riots that we now turn.

CHAPTER 4

TIME OF RIOTS & RESTITUTION
Shrovetide Urban Insurrections, Misrule and Sharpening a Tool of Negotiation

> Being our Shrove Tuesday the prentises or rather the unruly people of the suburbs played theyr parts… in pulling downe of houses and beating the guards that were set to kepe rule.
>
> - London, 1617 (Letter of John Chamberlain)[1]

On the morning of Shrove Tuesday 1617, crowds numbering in the thousands effectively besieged a terrified London, assailing buildings and people to the west, north and east of the city walls. Merely a stone’s throw away from where Queen Anne was simultaneously hosting the king to a sumptuous banquet at Somerset House, very real stones were flying in the streets of the Strand and Drury Lane, as chaos and destruction ran wild. Several eye-witnesses recounted the sheer scale and severity of the attacks and disturbances, but perhaps no one captured their essence more evocatively than courtier John Chamberlain, quoted above. Giving a fairly extensive summary of the events, the nobleman’s full account provides not only rich detail, but also insight into how the riots were viewed by contemporaries:

> the prentises or rather the unruly people of the suburbs played theyr parts, in divers places, as Finsburie fields, about wapping by St Katherines, and in Lincolns ynne fields, in which place being assembled in great numbers they fell to greate disorders in pulling

[1] TNA: SP 14/90, fo. 192 (John Chamberlain’s letter to Dudley Carelton on 8 March 1617). Other eye-witness accounts of the 1617 riots include: TNA: SP 14/90, fo. 193v (Edward Sherburne's letter to Dudley Carleton on 8 March 1617); SP 14/90, fo. 237 (George Gerrard's Letter to Dudley Carleton on 20 March 1617).

> downe of houses and beating the guards that were set to kepe rule. specially at a new playhouse (sometime a cockpit) in Drurie Lane…in Finsburie they brake the prison and let out all the prisoners, spoyled the house by untiling and breaking downe the rofe and all the windowes and at wapping they pulled downe seven or eight houses and defaced five times as many, besides many other outrages as beating the sheriffe from his horse with stones and dooing much other hurt too long to write

Although unique in their level of destruction, the riots described by Chamberlain were not isolated incidents, but rather part of an annual Shrove Tuesday tradition that was by this time about two decades old. Shrovetide riots emerged as a distinct festive custom in London during the 1590s and persisted with varying degrees of frequency until the end of the seventeenth century. State papers and judicial records of the period convey the truly endemic nature of the tradition in England: over the course of a century there were at least sixty separate cases of confirmed or threatened Shrovetide riot in English urban areas, with the vast majority of these occurring in early Stuart London.[2]

While details differed, the basic profile of methods and targets sketched by Chamberlain applied to many Shrove Tuesday riots over time and space: holiday revellers gathered together in armed mobs to vandalize and destroy buildings and attack intervening magistrates; these targets were often, though not always, brothels, playhouses, or prisons. The nobleman's appraisal of who, where and why also summarises the predominant contemporary understanding, encapsulated in the first sentence of his account: 'the prentises or rather the unruly people of the suburbs played theyr parts'. Thus, the perpetrators were the destitute of the suburbs and apprentices. And their motives? They were 'playing their parts'- performing a ritual of festive misrule as if by script, but with little thought or strategy behind their actions. This final chapter seeks to challenge Chamberlain's reading of Shrovetide riots, and the modern scholarly interpretations which still keep this elite, outsider perspective at their core, by

[2] There is documentary evidence of one or more Shrovetide riots or planned insurrections on each of the following inclusive dates in London: 1598, 1600, 1602, 1606-1621, 1623-24, 1626-29, 1631-38, 1641, 1648, 1657, 1680, 1684, and 1695. Shrove Tuesday insurrections also occurred or were publicly threatened in other towns and cities on the following dates: Newcastle (1633), Norwich (1642), Sutton (1643), Preston (1644), Bristol (1657, 1660, 1670, and 1685), and York (1673). While the details and sources for many of these will be expounded in later sections, the evidence has in general been culled from the Middlesex sessions records, Bridewell courtbooks, repertories of the aldermen, acts of the privy council, state papers domestic and foreign, and journals of the houses of Parliament. See also K. J. Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109-126 at pp. 109-110. This article laid the archival groundwork for all subsequent scholarly examinations of the riots, present work included.

focusing on when, how, and why rioting and festive vandalism became a Shrovetide tradition and asking how the festive observance continued to be shaped and utilised by people in subsequent years. It is through analysis of the emergence and perpetuation of this rioting tradition, its relationship to the frame of Shrovetide, and the specific historical contexts of its deployment, that this final chapter aims to develop a more nuanced understanding of human interactions with festive time and misrule in the past.

Chamberlain's interpretation of the riots was normal for its time, but it has been deployed consistently by many modern historians since, both in treatment of Shrove Tuesday rioting within a wide range of historiographical perspectives, and in conceptualization of early modern festive misrule more broadly. Briefly summarising the literature on the subject, urban historians have seen the riots as a way to evaluate the relative stability or instability of the capital city.[3] Students of Renaissance drama have been attracted to the tendency of rioting crowds to target playhouses.[4] Scholars interested in popular culture and adolescence have focused on the youth groups who participated in the riots.[5] Considered within studies of popular politics, revolt, and resistance, Shrovetide riots have been analysed and categorized as ritual violence which do not always fit within broader models of crowd actions.[6] As popular seasonal customs, the riots have been treated within larger appraisals and folk collections of festive culture in early modern

[3] S. Rappaport, *World's Within Worlds*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 9-12; I. W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 1-4; A. L. Beier, 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (1978), 203-221.

[4] E. Collins, 'Repertory and Riot: The Relocation of Plays from the Red Bull to the Cockpit Stage,' *Early Theatre* 13 (2010), 132-49; A. J. Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 227-228, 252-253; M. Straznicky, 'The End(s) of Discord in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 36.2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring, 1996), 357-372; F. Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 96-104; E. T. Lin, 'Festivity,' in *Early Modern Theatricality* ed. H. S. Turner (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 212-229 at 215-216.

[5] N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 97-123; P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), 186; S. Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation,' *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), 37-67 at 50; J. Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600 – 1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 104-107; S. R. Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-century Adolescents,' *Past & Present* (1973), 149-161; P. Burke 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century London,' in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* ed. Barry Reay (New York: St. Martin's, 1985), 32-58 at 35-36; P. Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 140-69; I. K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 183-207.

[6] Lindley, 109-126; R. B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 187-219; T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), 22-27; A. Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 119; P. Seaver, 'Apprentice Riots in Early Modern London,' in *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England* ed. by Joseph P. Ward (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 17-39.

Britain, wherein the sudden shift of Shrovetide traditions to volatile misrule is noted, but not examined in depth beyond its significance to the larger history of the holiday.[7]

Two main approaches have emerged in the last several decades from this body of scholarship. One focuses upon crowd action and revolt within the city of London, and the other upon the participation of youth groups in popular protest. Practitioners of the former consider Shrovetide riots within larger contexts of public unrest and civic response. Debates revolve around whether riots were effective forms of protest, reflected coherent agendas, and undermined the stability of London.[8] Proponents of the second approach link the riots to the perennial trials of adolescence, debating the existence of an apprentice/youth subculture in early modern London and its effect on the larger society of the growing metropolis.[9] Although almost never considered mutually exclusive, one approach emphasizes the *riot* and the other the *rioter*. Rarely is the third main ingredient – the festive frame – given precedent. As a tradition, Shrovetide rioting is either treated as ancient (rare in recent works), or a more distinct phenomenon of Stuart society. However, in the latter case the sudden emergence of the tradition is never interrogated.

Within this literature the riots are usually categorized as youthful outbursts of festive misrule, with the latter concept rarely explained or analysed beyond reflexive allusions to social inversion, or the inevitable outcomes of bacchanalian excess and cathartic release on a holiday. In other words, 'boys would be boys' and festivals of drunken excess and 'licensed disorder' naturally resulted in collateral damage from time to time.[10] More nuanced interpretations of the riots have labelled them variously as youth rites of passage, communal acts of justice reflecting the moral economy, and symbolic attacks against those pleasures routinely denied to the participants.[11] The unifying principles in these readings are that Shrovetide disturbances were generally ritualistic and youth-led, serving set social functions and allowing a temporary

[7] R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 155-157; *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 188-189; Brand, i. 89-94.
[8] For e.g. Archer, 1-4; Rappaport, 9-12; Lindley, 109-126.
[9] Amos, 183-207; Smith, 149-161; Seaver, 17-39. Smith sees the riots as proof of a London youth subculture, while Amos and Seaver argue that the riots were in fact by-products of unity and common ground between the ethos of old and young.
[10] Steve Rappaport, for example, describes the Elizabethan Shrovetide riots as testosterone-fuelled outbursts which were 'hardly ever organized or purposeful, at least not consciously', Rappaport, 11; See also Cook, 228.
[11] For the first interpretation see: Amos, 183-207; Smith, 149-161; Second interpretation: Laroque, 100-101; Smith, 150; Archer, 3; Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun*, 155; Seaver, 17-39. Third interpretation: Lane, 100-107; Cook, 258; Collins, 137.

inversion of norms that was either harmless, or only subversive to the extent authorities allowed it to be.

This chapter seeks to re-evaluate these conceptions about the Shrove Tuesday riots and festive misrule in general, merging discussions of historical context and social identity with a better understanding of the relationship between crowd action and festive culture. Based primarily on legal records of the events, it argues that the riots were neither principally youth-led products of the suburbs, nor ritualised actions with a pre-determined meaning or social function beyond an adaptable social efficacy. Instead, the Shrove Tuesday riot, epitomizing the festive riot, was a malleable tool of a varied sub-section of London society, its efficacy kept sharp through traditional practice. In other words, it was an action appropriated for myriad uses but collectively maintained during this period as a customary right to rebel against authority on a large scale – a celebrated tradition of sedition. To illustrate the former, the chapter first briefly charts the history of Shrovetide riots, primarily in London, before re-interpreting the riots based on a prosopography of alleged participants and victims and their relationship to the frame of Shrovetide.

Elizabethan Shrovetide Riots: Birth of a Custom

E. K. Chambers asserted that Shrovetide brothel riots were little more than 'traditional Saturnalia of apprentices' and many other scholars followed his lead in defining these incidents as long-standing rites of violence committed annually by London youth groups.[12] By the middle of the seventeenth century, James Harrington was describing the custom as an 'ancient administration of justice' and even earlier contemporaries named it a tradition.[13] But was it truly an ancient observance? More recent scholarship has pointed out that Shrovetide riots are only evident in historic records of late Elizabethan and Jacobean London, implying the festive mob actions were novel phenomena.[14] Evidence of Shrovetide disturbances in Elizabethan London needs to be more closely analysed to identify, with as much certainty as possible, whether the cyclical riots of the suburbs represented a new festive observance of certain

[12] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (4 vols.) (Oxford, 1923), i. 265n; Smith, 149-61; Archer, 1-3; Laroque, 97. Archer and Laroque both espouse that the riots were likely older, penitential traditions meant to cleanse the city before Lent.
[13] James Harrington, *The common-wealth of Oceana* (London, 1656), 194. For e.g., Thomas Middleton, *The Inner-Temple masque* (London, 1619), sig. B3v: 'Stand forth *Shrouetuesday*, one'a the silenc'st Bricke-Layers, Tis in your charge to pull downe Bawdyhouses…'
[14] Rappaport, 10; Manning, 192, 212; Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, 188; Collins, 138; Griffiths, 152-3.

elements of London society, or simply an ongoing practice that received heightened attention and official response in the seventeenth century. For, in its origin-story may be discerned the dispositions preserved in the tradition, and therefore its exacting force upon later enactments. Shrovetide festive customs do not appear to have caused any gratuitous disturbances in Elizabethan London up unto the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the first clear sign of trouble appeared: a 1578 precept by the mayor of London to the aldermen of the city ‘against…disorders, uncomely, and dangerous behaviours’ during the festival. Specifically, it forbade all Londoners, including apprentices, students, servants, and even householders themselves, from assembling in the ‘fields and elsewhere’ outside the city ‘on the days of Shroftyde’, singling out ‘shoutings, hooping noises, sounding of drums or instruments, shooting of guns or using of squibs’ as the principal offenses.[15]

The extent to which this precept was a response to serious and dangerous disorders on the parts of apprentices, servants and others does need to be evaluated further. While the terminology it uses, such as ‘riotous’ and ‘dangerous’, packs a heavy punch, nowhere within the list of specific ‘don’ts’ is there any mention of the wanton destruction of property, or the outright rioting described in later Shrovetide accounts. If the disorders during the holiday were at such gratuitous levels of violence, one might expect to see signs of it within precepts such as these, as well as in arrest records. Furthermore, as Steve Rappaport cautions, council acts and precepts were often ‘couched in language intended to motivate constables and householders to be more vigilant’, and thus may have been exaggerated for effect. Such a predilection for hyperbole is certainly evident in the final section of the precept, where masters, mistresses and householders are repeatedly threatened with having to ‘at their peril answer, and bear punishment for the misdemeanours’ of their charges.[16] This taken into account, it is also not difficult to imagine how hundreds or thousands of rowdy revellers, gathered together in fields shouting and firing guns into the sky might strike fear in the hearts of more gentle folk trying to enjoy their own Shrovetide feasts and entertainments in relative comfort. As the Protestant minister William Kethe preached in 1571, Shrovetide was a time of ‘great gluttony, surfeiting and drunkeness’. Such excesses no doubt sometimes resulted in incidents of collateral disorder, but the precepts do not imply organized insurrections.[17]

[15] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/020-07, fo. 390.
[16] Rappaport, 10.
[17] William Kethe, *A Sermon Preached at Blandford Forum* (1570) f. 18v.

The mayor and aldermen's threats evidently had minimal effect, for in subsequent years the Shrovetide revellers declined to adopt 'discrete and sober' behaviour in favour of their more practiced customs. This much is clear from another, similar order issued by the mayor in February of 1579 requiring householders to 'suffer not any of their servants or apprentices to wander or go abroad the morrow next being Shrove Tuesday, at any time of the said day within this city…in any riotous or disordered manner'.[18] Orders to allow neither 'apprentices nor servants to wander abroad in the streets or out of their masters' and mistresses' company' during Shrovetide and to prohibit 'football play' in the lanes appear in 1588 and were repeated almost verbatim in 1589 and 1590. [19]

The subtle shift in emphasis in these later precepts from fields outside London to the streets and lanes of the city may reflect the general increase in disorderly conduct within the capital during the 1580s and 1590s. These precepts were being released into a city experiencing a massive population explosion, with servant and apprentice numbers increasing as never before and outbreaks of violence becoming more commonplace.[20] The effects of these changes on the celebration of Shrovetide will be considered more closely in later sections, but within these corporate precepts at least there appears to be no direct evidence of Shrovetide rioting – the armed crowds numbering in hundreds and thousands which would become characteristic of the holiday in the Jacobean era. Whatever the case, the frequent reiteration of ordinances certainly casts a dubious light on the ability of authorities to prevent Shrovetide rowdiness of any kind. The chain of Shrovetide prohibitions in London may also simply reflect larger trends affecting festive customs throughout Tudor England. In the last few decades of the sixteenth century, many seasonal festivals and customs were attacked, and popular observances supressed during what has been called the 'Reformation of Manners'. The pruning of customs and holiday observances deemed ill-fit for preservation was often religiously motivated, but secular customs and festivals were also brought under fire if they were thought to provoke public misbehaviour. Shrovetide youthful unruliness in the fields outside London would most certainly fit the bill for a custom that needed to be reformed out of existence, and the repeated attempts by the mayor and aldermen to smother the festive rowdiness might be seen as a reflection of this reformation movement rather than evidence of escalating Shrovetide violence

[18] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/020, fo. 469.
[19] LMA, COL/CC/01/01/022, fos. 156, 257, 366.
[20] Manning, 189-200; R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion' in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* ed. A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (London, 1986), 37-59.

in the 1570s and 1580s.[21] Up until the 1590s, disorder on a modest, unorganized scale seems to have been a characteristic of London Shrovetide, but riot, vandalism and excessive violence against specific targets is not evident in the records. If authorities were aiming to reform said disorder, they failed spectacularly, for during the final decade of the sixteenth century Shrovetide evolved into a medium for dangerous misrule.

The first record of direct judicial action against Shrovetide disorder appears in the repertory records for March 1595, when five 'servants and apprentices to sundry persons' in Southwark were thrown in the Newgate prison for committing 'divers outrages' on Shrove Tuesday and 'sundry other times'. Details of their actions are not given, but the wording hints that these men were frequent troublemakers who had pushed things too far this time.[22] However severe the outrages were, they perhaps spurred the city magistrates to issue an ordinance the next year, calling householders to keep control of their charges 'for the preventing of disorders which may happen on Shrove Monday and Tuesday next through the unruliness of wilful disordered persons, especially apprentices within this city'.[23] This ordinance proved ineffective in the long run, for on 28 February 1598 the first recorded Shrove Tuesday riot occurred in the suburbs of Shoreditch when 'disturbers of the peace to the number of a hundred persons broke riotously into the dwellinghouse of John Harris at Hollowaie…and injured and broke "the chambers and rooms" of the said house'.[24] The lord mayor and common council issued further proclamations against the 'divers lewd, riotous and unruly persons' of Shrove Tuesday in 1599 and 1600, but these were similarly unsuccessful. During Shrovetide 1600, persons 'to the number of a hundred' assembled with 'swords, clubs and other weapons' to break riotously into a house.[25] This insurrection was followed in 1602 by a particularly significant Shrove Tuesday riot:

> '…at Nortonfollgate in the parish of St. Leonerd in Shordiche…disturbers of the peace, armed with staves and clubs and other weapons, assembled riotously and in warlike manner, and made forcibly an unlawful entry into the dwelling-house of Helen Howell, and prostrated it to the ground.'[26]

[21] Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, 111-153.
[22] LMA: COL/CA/01/01/025, fo. 369.
[23] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/024, fo. 93v.
[24] LMA: MJ/SR/0353, fo. 43; For quote see also *Middlesex County Records: Volume 1, 1550-1603* ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1886), 243.
[25] LMA: MJ/SR/0377/38; COL/CC/01/01/025, fos. 28v, 147v.
[26] LMA: MJ/SR/0399/16-18, 22, 28, 49; MJ/SR/0400/118,130; Quote from *Middlesex County Records*, i. 277-78.

The sex of the victim, the levelling of her house, and its location in one of the notorious suburban brothel districts point to this being the first recorded Shrovetide attack on a bawdy house.

While the Middlesex records demonstrate that Shrovetide rioting began in 1598 at the latest and likely developed some traditional characteristics (targeting of brothels) by 1602, it still could and has been contended that Shrovetide riots and brothel sacks existed earlier and simply went unrecorded in the Middlesex court records.[27] This seems unlikely for several reasons. Not only do the sessions records lack evidence of rioting or the pulling down of structures during Shrovetide before 1598, but the Elizabethan state papers, journals of the common council, and repertories of the aldermen are bereft of such evidence as well. Furthermore, Shrovetide rioting and brothel attacks do not appear in the medieval court records of the city.[28] From 1578 forward, lord mayors issued regular precepts and orders like the ones detailed above. These ordinances, however, say nothing of rioting mobs, brothels or destruction of property in the suburbs. Instead they prohibit more typical Shrovetide customs such as raucous music and sports.[29] The Elizabethan Bridewell Court Books do include some information on brothels and Shrove Tuesday, but tellingly, they report incidences of apprentices *visiting* bawdy houses rather than tearing them down.[30] In short, a line should be drawn between the rowdy Shrovetide antics of the 1570s and 1580s, and the malicious and militant large-scale insurrections which began to take place on the holiday in the 1590s. Shrovetide football could perhaps result in collateral property damage, but Shrovetide rioting actively aimed at it.

But perhaps the most compelling evidence that Shrove Tuesday rioting was a novel custom arising at the turn of the century may come from contemporary printed media. Trends in published references to Shrovetide show a marked change in the holiday's character and a rapid, popularly perceived elevation in festive violence. At least seventy contemporary

[27] Archer, 3. Ian Archer cautions that lack of evidence in the Middlesex quarter sessions may only indicate an increased willingness on the part of authorities to prosecute riotous offenders in the final years of Tudor rule, rather than a lack of Shrovetide rioting before then. In his words, 'the discovery of many more riots during the early seventeenth century reflects not increasing disorder but increasing documentation'.
[28] B. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford:OUP, 1993), 125.
[29] Such mayoral precepts and ordinances began in 1578 and were repeated often through the succeeding three decades. LMA: COL/CC/01/01/020, fos. 390, 469 (1578, 1579); COL/CC/01/01/022, fos. 156v, 257, 366 (1588, 1589, 1590); COL/CC/01/01/023, fos. 232r, 370r (1593, 1594); COL/CC/01/01/024, fo. 93v (1596); COL/CC/01/01/025, fos. 28v, 147v (1599, 1600).
[30] BCB 3, fos. 228v, 332v.

examples of printed media associate Shrovetide with rioting in some way, but none of these date from before the seventeenth century.[31] The earliest known reference comes from Thomas Dekker's *Northward Ho!*. Written in 1605, the play contains an illuminating line spoken by a prostitute:

> The Doctor told me I was with child, how many Lords Knights, Gentlemen, Cittizens, and others promist me to be god-fathers to that child: twas not Gods will: the prentises made a riot vpon my glasse-windowes the Shroue-tuesday following and I miscaried.[32]

The quote implies that Shrovetide brothel riots had occurred at least once before 1605, and it adds further credence to the assertion that the 1602 riot was one such example. At the same time, however, the lack of similar references before this play may indicate that this was a nod to current events rather than long-established holiday traditions. Publications from before and after 1600 further support this hypothesis; many references to Shrovetide in Jacobean works follow Dekker's example in alluding to riots, bawds, and violent apprentices, while Elizabethan literary references draw connections to food, pancakes, merriment, and light-hearted pursuits. For instance, a comedy from 1598 refers to Shrove Tuesday's status as a half-holiday and the practice, often carried out by mischievous sextons, of ringing the pancake bell prematurely to end the workday: 'indeede her tongue is like Clocks on Shrouetuesday, alwaies out of temper'.[33] Such allusions stand in stark contrast to the more sinister examples from the seventeenth century. The increase in topical city references in the plays of Jacobean London could be attributed in part to the development and popularisation of the city comedy genre around 1600 by the works of Jonson, Dekker, and others. Such plays were often set in London and concerned scenarios which audiences would have found immediately recognizable and accessible, hence an increase in apprentices and bawdy house riots.[34] However, the lack of references to Shrovetide riots in the 1590s, before the popularisation of the city comedy, should not simply be attributed to the exotic settings and romantic themes of earlier Elizabethan plays.

---

[31] For the most comprehensive list of such references see Williams, iii. 1245-1247; also see Laroque, 97-104 and Brand, i. 89-94.

[32] Thomas Dekker, *North-vvard hoe* (London, 1607); sig. F3v. On the process of dating the play's composition and performance to late 1605 see Chambers, iii. 295. For more on Dekker's references to festivals in his works see M. T. Jones-Davies, *Un Peintre de la Vie Londonienne de Thomas Dekker (circa 1572-1632)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958) i. 307-308.

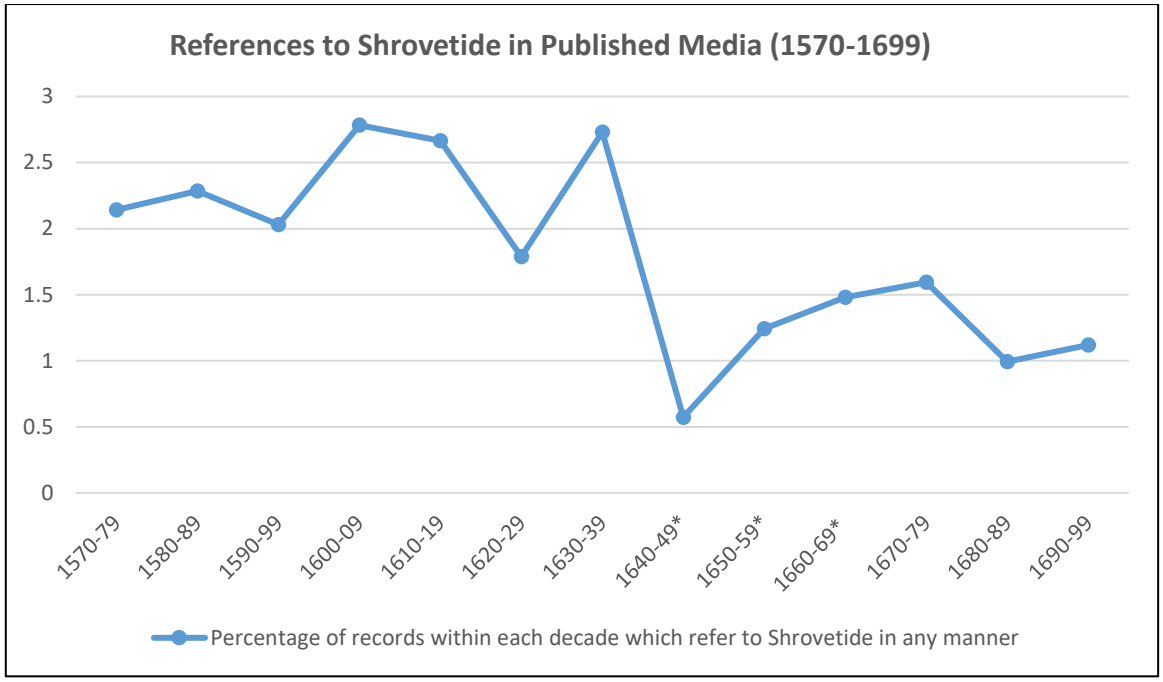
[33] Robert Greene, *The Scottish historie of Iames the fourth* (London, 1598), sig. G4r; For other e.g. see Ben Jonson, *The comicall satyre of euery man out of his humor* (London, 1600), sig. M2v; William Shakespeare, *The second part of Henrie the fourth* (London, 1600), sig. K2r; See also Laroque, 104-105.

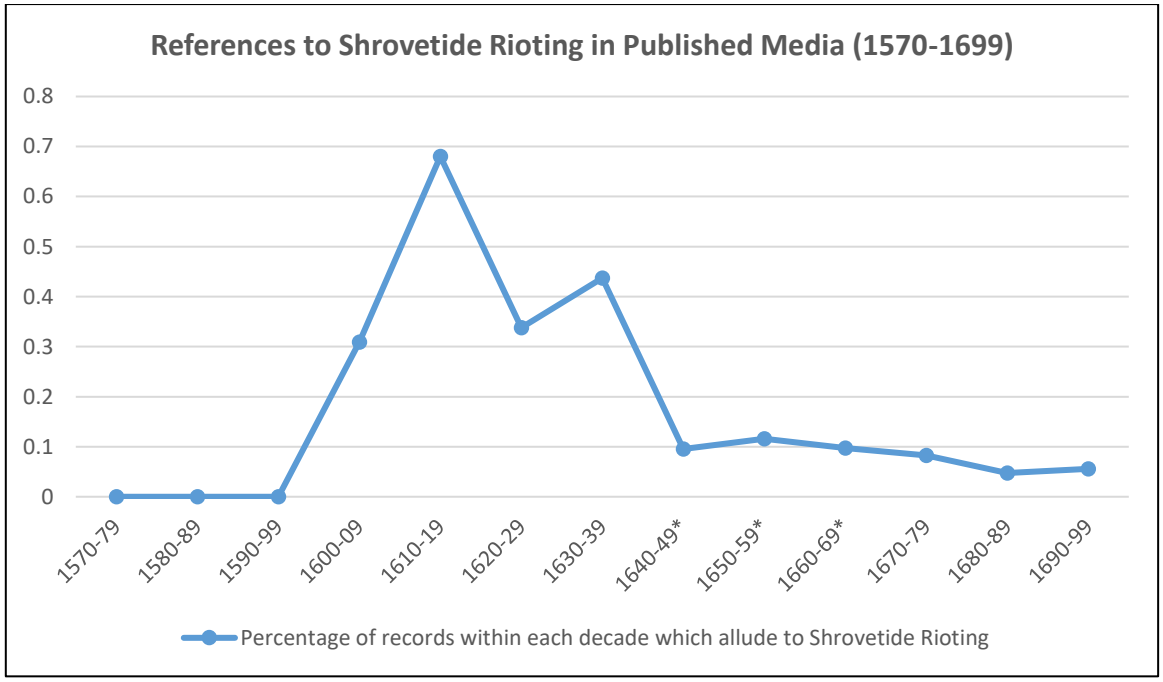
[34] Straznicky, 357-372.

It is well known that popular works in the 1590s often suggested or directly commented upon the violence rampant in the city at the time, including but not limited to apprentice disorder.[35] There are many allusions before 1600 to the apprentice penchant for misrule and their infamous rallying cry of ‘clubs!’; it is therefore telling that no such popular references appear to link destructive apprentice violence explicitly to the holiday in question, or to bawdy houses for that matter, until the seventeenth century.[36] Thanks to the large corpus of searchable printed material available through Early English Books Online, these hypotheses can actually be tested against quantifiable data by searching for references to Shrovetide within the database of early modern published media. With more than fifty thousand fully keyed texts available for publications dating from 1570 to 1699, cultural trends and popular perceptions of Shrovetide can be tracked and observed, seemingly pointing to the 1590s as the origin for cyclical Shrovetide rioting (See **Figures 1-4**).

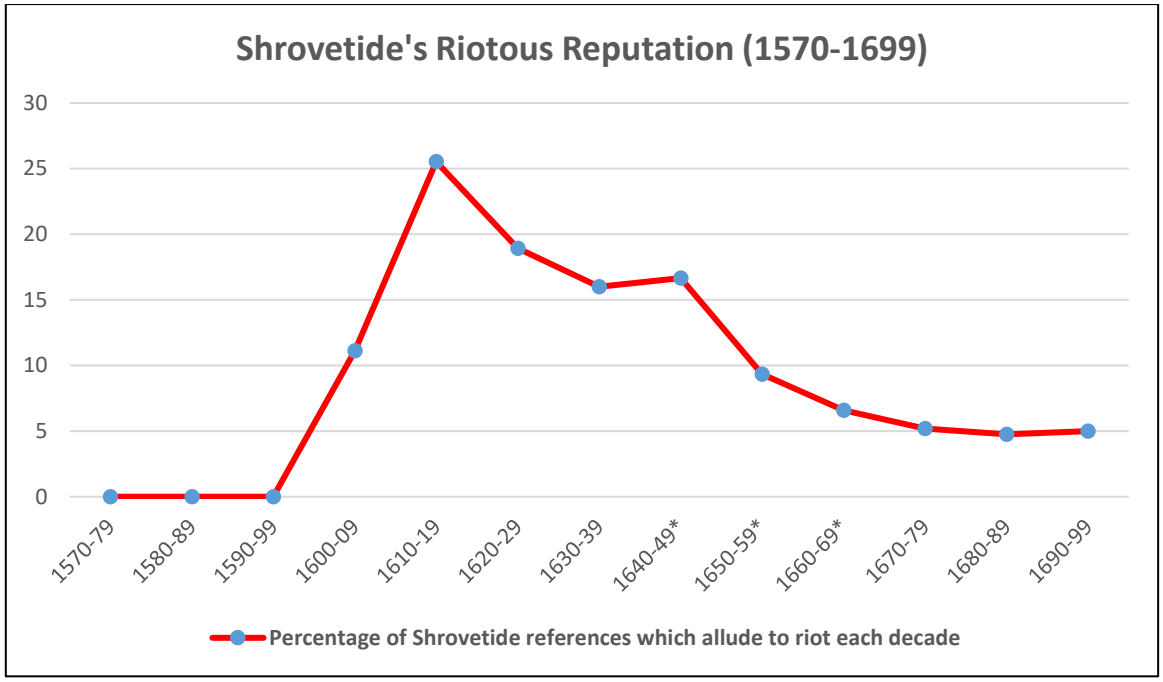
[35] For e.g. Andy Wood has demonstrated how some dramatic works produced in the turbulent 1590s represented plebeian rebellion and its causes: A. Wood, ‘Brave Minds and Hard Hands: Work, Drama, and Social Relations in the Hungry 1590s’, in C. Fitter (ed.), *Shakespeare and the Politics of Commoners* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 84-101. K. Delter has shown the significance of the Tower of London as a symbol of rebellion, and as the centre of a late Elizabethan theatre tradition which frequently referred to riot in ways that would have been immediately familiar to the audience: *The Tower of London in English Renaissance Drama: Icon of Opposition* (2008), 92-97; C. Fitter has shown Shakespeare’s plays as a product of a turbulent time of frequent violence in London, ‘The quarrel is between our masters and us their men: *Romeo and Juliet*, Dearth, and the London Riots’, *English Literary Renaissance* 30 (2000), 154-163.

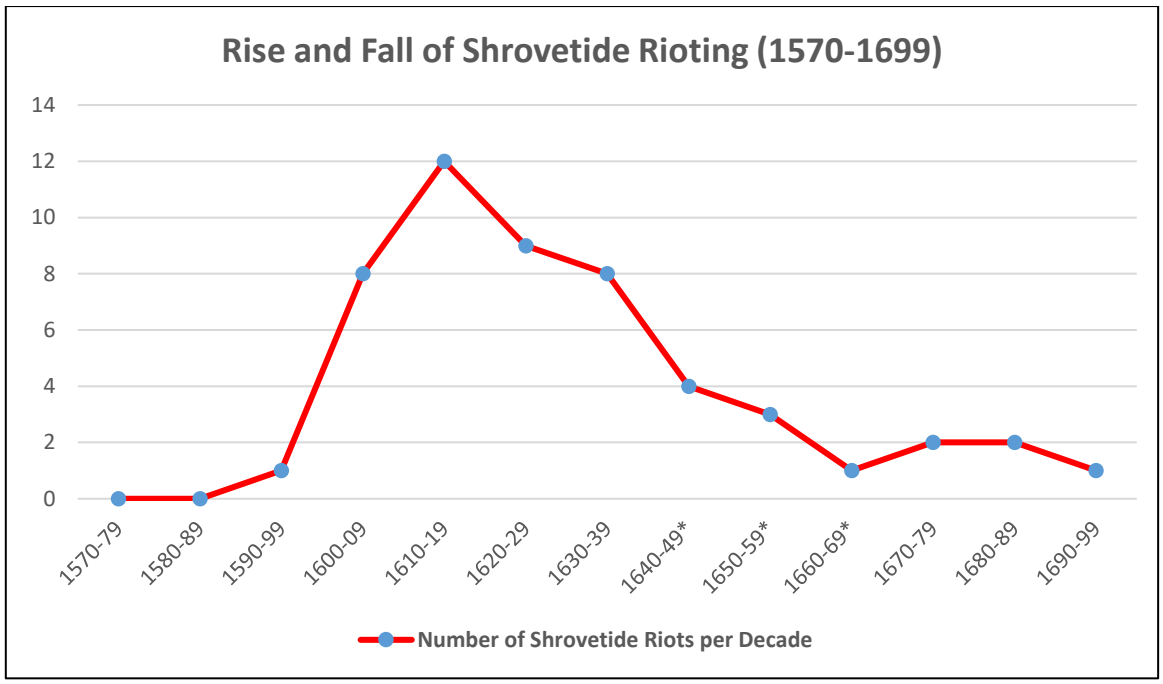
[36] For a collection of literary references to apprentice violence, both festive and otherwise, see G. Norton, *Commentaries on the History, Constitution and the Chartered Franchises of the City of London* (London, 1829), 205n-206n.





FIGURES 1 & 2 **Fig. 1** was produced by searching a sample of 51,144 digitally keyed editions from EEBO for mentions of Shrovetide in any context. This search yielded 686 separate publications spread out over 13 decades. **Fig. 2** was then produced by searching the 686 records for allusions, both blatant and subtle, to Shrovetide rioting. **Fig. 2** clearly shows a sudden and powerful association with rioting in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, while **Fig. 1** shows that the lack of this riotous reputation in earlier decades should not be attributed to a dearth of sources. The frequency of ’Shrovetide’ in the total sample remains fairly constant from 1570 until the Civil War and Interregnum, when a massive increase in source material begins to distort the findings. See **Fig. 3** for a graph bereft of this distortion.





FIGURES 3 & 4 **Fig. 3** tracks Shrove Tuesday's culturally perceived association with rioting through the years by calculating the percentage of rioting allusions within Shrovetide references each decade. Thus, during the second decade of the seventeenth century, at the height of the destructive tradition, 26% of all Shrove Tuesday references in printed media were about violence and riot. By the end of the century, however, this had dwindled to 5%. Comparing **Fig. 3** to **Fig. 4** illustrates the symbiotic relationship between the riots and the cultural products which alluded to them. While the custom led to topical similes in plays and pamphlets, it was a two-way street and printed media no doubt played a part in propagating the 'idea' of Shrovetide riot. For more on the potential of quantitative analysis for large corpora of printed material see Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., 'Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books', *Science* (Published online ahead of print: 12/16/2010); and of course, EEBO itself http://eebo.chadwyck.com/about/about.htm#online.

Jacobean Shrovetide Riots: Creation of Tradition

While Shrovetide rioting was still only a fledgling holiday observance when James I ascended the throne, by the time his reign came to an end in 1625, rioting was an established Shrove Tuesday tradition as strongly associated with the holiday in the popular imagination as pancakes and cock-threshing.[37] If repetition is an essential ingredient in the establishment of custom, then the rise of Shrovetide rioting comes as no great surprise. There is evidence of Shrovetide rioting on eighteen out of the twenty-two years of Jacobean rule, with tumults occurring annually from 1606-1621 and 1623-1624. Late Elizabethan Shrove Tuesday rioters had targeted buildings in Holloway and Norton-folgate, but while Shoreditch remained the favoured area for Shrovetide riots throughout the Jacobean era, participants continued to branch out to other suburbs and targets peripheral to the city as the tradition strengthened and grew over the years.[38] The numerical strength of the rioters increased annually as well, suggestive of escalation and widening participation. In 1607, three different indictments were brought against two separate groups of Shrovetide rioters. One mob, numbering one hundred strong, attacked houses along Old Street, smashing the 'glass windows' of at least six different dwellings. The same Shrove Tuesday, two hundred different rioters ranged down Turnmill Street, breaking doors and windows before turning onto Cowcross Street and proceeding to do the same. In total, they damaged the properties of seventeen different individuals. On Shrove Tuesday, 1610, Robert Netherwood was brought in to Bridewell for 'sundry misdemeanours' and for threatening to bring with him five-hundred persons to pull down the Fortune Theatre. Two years later, in 1612, four rioters were indicted for besieging Mistress Leake's notorious bawdy house near Shoreditch Church, along with a mob of 'a thousand more'.[39]

It is evident that by 1616 Shrovetide rioting had developed into a popular tradition and a persistent problem. Shrove Tuesday had been woven into the public imagination through the annual repetition of riots and the publications of poets and playwrights, but what were those in authority doing to combat the problem, if they were doing anything at all? The periodic mayoral precepts against apprentices and other wards leaving their masters' charge during Shrovetide

[37] See **Figure 3.**
[38] From 1598-1621 Shrovetide riots occurred in the following locations at least once: Norton-folgate, Shoreditch; Holloway, Shoreditch; Old Street; Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell; Cowcross Street, Clerkenwell; Finsbury Fields; Moorfields; Hoxton Fields; Wapping; Stepney Fields; Ratcliffe; Whitechapel; Drury Lane; Cockpit Playhouse; Fortune Playhouse; Red Bull Playhouse; Finsbury Prison; and New Bridewell Prison beyond St John's Street.
[39] *Middlesex County Records: Volume 2, 1603-25*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1887), 25; BCB 5, fo. 416; LMA: MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120.

stopped after 1600; however, there is evidence that such prohibitions were still observed and enforced. On 1 March 1609, clothworker apprentice John Robinson was brought in to Bridewell for ‘going forth upon Shrove Tuesday without his master’s leave contrary to the charge given and staying out for two or three hours’. When he returned his master chastised him, and in response John abused his master and even ‘tried murther’ upon him. Apparently, John felt quite strongly about Shrove Tuesday and the ancient privilege (or right) of freedom it conferred upon him. Masters were supposed to prevent their charges from ‘going at liberty’ during Shrovetide and could be fined for their negligence, as precepts and ordinances made abundantly clear during the Elizabethan era.[40] Ultimately, implicit preventative measures such as these were ineffective, and magistrates relied upon reactive punishments to dissuade future Shrovetide tumults. Shrovetide rioters typically received fines or gaol-time for their offenses; some early rioters were also ‘whipt at oxtail.’[41] Constables and ‘rusty billmen’, rather than being deterrents and effective policing forces, were celebrated components of the Shrove Tuesday rioting custom, as rioters would turn their ire upon these hapless symbols of authority whenever they appeared: ‘like Prentises vpon Shrouetwuesday one to another, they vowed (come death), come diuels) to stand against whole bands of browne rusty bille-men’.[42] Rather than lacking mechanisms to stop Shrove Tuesday violence, these systems of policing and prevention simply failed in the face of annual crowd action on Shrove Tuesday – a tradition which reached its zenith of destructive force in March 1617. As recounted by John Chamberlain above, this Shrove Tuesday would live in infamy, prompting policy changes and marking a turning point in the development of Shrovetide rioting as a custom.[43]

The precise number of rioters in the 1617 insurrection is difficult to ascertain: one source cites three to four thousand ‘prentices’ while another declares, with perhaps an ounce of hyperbole, that ‘there was nigh 10 or 12 thousand gathered together’ for the subversion of the playhouse alone.[44] Unsurprisingly, insurrection on such a massive scale prompted a response from the

[40] BCB 5, fo. 327v.; LMA: MJ/SR/0498/54-56, 58-63, 144. When three apprentices were fined for committing outrages in 1611, their masters were also punished for suffering their apprentices to ‘go at liberty on Shrove Tuesday’. A precept from 22 February 1596 states ‘…masters and householders will answere for their servants and apprentices if through their defalts any disorders be committed’, COL/CC/01/01/024, fo. 93v.
[41] Rioters were flogged in 1598 and 1607; offenders were sentenced to Newgate Prison or Bridewell in 1598, 1606, 1609, 1610, 1612, 1617, 1618 and 1619; fines and bonds for appearances often preceded or accompanied any other types of punishment: 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1616, and 1620.
[42] Thomas Dekker, *The seuen deadly sinnes of London* (London, 1607), sig. C1v.
[43] TNA: SP 14/90, fo. 192 John Chamberlain’s letter to Dudley Carelton on 8 March 1617.
[44] TNA: SP 14/90, fo. 193v (Edward Sherburne's letter to Dudley Carleton on 8 March 1617); SP 14/90, fo. 237 (George Gerrard's Letter to Dudley Carleton on 20 March 1617).

highest authorities. On Ash Wednesday, the king and Privy Council took swift and extraordinary action, writing to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, as well as the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, to have 'a strict enquiry made for suche as were of yat Company aswell Apprentices or others'. In similar form to earlier prosecutions of Shrovetide rioters, an effort was made by authorities to punish the 'principall Offendours' and leaders.[45] The records of the special session, held on 20 March, reveal that at least thirty-four individuals were summoned before the justices to answer for their crimes, constituting the largest surviving sample of rioters from a single Shrove Tuesday. Few details beyond the names of individuals were noted, but out of the seven who did have professions listed, all were craftsmen or yeomen and half resided in London.[46] Chamberlain's description of the mob as 'prentices' and 'unruly people of the suburbs' does not seem to accurately reflect the leadership of the riots. While Chamberlain was confident some of the offenders would be hanged, the guilty instead were punished with hefty fines and gaol sentences. More serious were the crown and city's long-term responses to the Shrovetide insurrections. The Privy Council immediately ordered that certain special officers of 'courage and discretion' be appointed by the lord mayor and lieutenants of Middlesex as Provost Marshalls with the power to execute marshal law should similar insurrections occur in the future. Furthermore, it was ordered 'that the trayn bands of the Citty shall euery May Day, and thys Day be drawnd out into the fieldes'.[47] The riots of 1617 thus prompted shifts in official policies towards Shrovetide: reactive responses to festive riots became proactive measures to shut them down. The stage was set for a clash between authority and the power of popular tradition.

Caroline Shrovetide: Tradition versus Trained Bands

From the aftermath of the 1617 riot until the beginning of the Civil War, crown and city officials went to great lengths to prevent and quell Shrovetide tumults and the similar insurrections which took place less frequently on May Day.[48] These preventive measures

[45] *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (*APCE*) *Volume 35, 1616-1617*, ed. J V Lyle (London: HMSO, 1890-), 175.
[46] LMA: MJ/GB/R/02, fos. 113-115. The riots were not treated by the justices as one, united unlawful mob action, but rather as distinct crimes against separate victims. Four men were charged 'for a riotous assalte and spoyle done upon the dwellinge house' of Christopher Beeston, owner of the Cockpit; three women and seven men faced charges for pulling down houses in Whitechapel; and two men were summoned for 'drawing together a riotous assembly at Finsbury prison'.
[47] *APCE Vol. 35, 1616-1617*, 193-4; TNA: SP 14/90, fo. 237.
[48] Lindley states that there were only eight May Day disturbances during the early Stuart period compared to over fifty separate Shrovetide insurrections ('Riot Prevention and Control', 111).

generally took three forms: masters were ordered to keep in their servants and apprentices upon the days in question, strong watches were set at gates and ‘such places as shallbe meet’, and military or trained bands were mustered to be drilled on the day ‘in such convenient places in the skirtes, and confynes of the cittie’.[49] Thus, access to festive spaces was blocked at every level: leaving the household, exiting the city, and gathering in the recreational fields were all restricted. Nonetheless, Shrovetide rioters proved adept at circumventing these preventive tactics. The near annual repetition of such ordinances for two decades implies the riots endured as a problem, and ample evidence in the judicial records of the period prove this to be true.[50] Riotous revellers wasted no time in putting the trained bands and watches to the test. According to John Chamberlain in 1617, ‘the apprentices threatened to rise on May-day, but were prevented by the measures taken to repress them’.[51] These measures were not as successful the following year, for on Shrove Tuesday rioters ‘had a cast at new Bridewell beyond St. John’s Street, and pulled down two or three houses in other places’. It is a testament to the severity of earlier Shrovetide riots that Chamberlain, in the same letter, considered the day an overall success, claiming ‘our prentices did little harm’. This ‘little harm’ resulted in fifteen rioters committed for ‘misdemeanours’ at the February Middlesex Sessions of the Peace.[52] Insurrections and tumults followed in 1619, 1620 and 1621.[53] The threat of Shrovetide was so ominous and warranted by 1621 that the unpopular Spanish ambassador fled to Nonsuch for the day to ‘avoid the fury of the people’.[54] The crown’s exasperation and frustration on the subject can be clearly felt in a letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor before Shrovetide 1622; the monarch now expected a ‘reall reformacion of that lycenious and rude custome formerly used by base and leud persons’.[55]

Preventive acts of the council became more explicit in instruction in the years following, regularly calling for at least two companies of trained bands on the day, numbering 800 men, to assemble and train in places of recreation such as Finsbury Fields, Moorfields, Smithfield

[49] *APCE Vol. 36, 1618-1619*, 38-39.
[50] Orders for the watch and trained bands to be called out on Shrove Tuesday can be found in the Acts of the Privy Council and/or the Calendars of State Papers Domestic for the following years: 1618, 1621-29, 1631, 1636-39, 1641. Despite these measures, Shrovetide insurrections occurred in 1618-21, 1623-4, 1626-29, 1631-36, and 1641.
[51] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (*CSPD*)*: James I, 1611-18*, ed. Mary A. E. Green (London, 1858), 465.
[52] John Chamberlain, *The Chamberlain Letters,* ed. E. M. Thomson (London, 1965), 143-4; LMA: MJ/SB/R/02/0487, 491, 500.
[53] BCB 6, fos. 98, 98v; LMA: MJ/SR/0584/44, 45, 85, 90, 91, 93; MJ/SR/0595/81.
[54] *CSPD: James I, 1619-23*, 223.
[55] *APCE Vol. 38, 1621-1623*, 152-3.

and Tower Hill.[56] This temporarily led to a decrease in the severity and regularity of festive riots, but the popular tradition continued to evade extinction. When Shrovetide or May Day crowds were able to thwart the bands, they did so through increasingly sophisticated tactics and sheer numbers. For instance, in preparation for the 1618 Shrove Tuesday, would-be rioters 'cast sedicious lybells into Playhouses in the name of some London ffellowe Apprentices, to Summon others in the Skirtes, and Confynes, to meete at the ffortune, and after that to goe to the Playhouses the Redd Bull, and the Cock Pitt, w*hi*ch they haue Designed to rase, and pull Downe'. When the crowd was foiled by authorities they evidently readjusted and attacked the nearby New Bridewell prison.[57] The letters of the Venetian ambassador hint at how rioters could foil the trained bands of the city, moving 'like a sudden flash of lightening…from place to place', and never ceasing until 'the day of their furious misrule and impetus' ended.[58] Indeed, as is mapped in **Figure 11** below**,** tumults were often raised in multiple locations on the same day, and by the reign of Charles the violence sometimes spilled over from Shrove Tuesday to Ash Wednesday and the days which followed.[59]

In 1631 inhabitants of the Paris Garden liberty of Southwark petitioned the Privy Council for assistance in preventing planned Shrove Tuesday attacks upon dwellings in their neighbourhood. The main target was the notorious brothel Holland's Leaguer; petitioners complained that although the eponymous bawd had left the area six weeks earlier, conspirators were planning to pull down 'the said house and twenty others near the same…on Tuesday next'. To accomplish the job 'many thousands of scrolls and papers' had been dispersed throughout the city for the 'aggregating of apprentices to demolish the said houses'. Although the inhabitants had secured a watch for the area, they feared it would not be enough in the face of such a large-scale, organized assault. If the references to Shrovetide rioters in the play *Holland's Leaguer*, which premiered later that year, are any indication, the petitioners' fears were justified.[60]

In addition to exhibiting sophisticated means of organization and networks of communication, Shrovetide rioting became an increasingly national problem under Charles I, and one

[56] *APCE Vol. 38, 1621-1623*, 413; LMA: COL/CC/01/01/030, fo. 128; COL/CA/01/01/37, fos. 105-6.
[57] *APCE Vol. 36, 1618-1619*, p.38; Chamberlain, 143-4.
[58] *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* (*CSPV*), *Volume 15, 1617-1619*, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1909), 246
[59] For e.g. in 1628, MJ/SR/0677/61, 62-7, 87-9; MJ/SR/0678/22, 27, 33.
[60] *CSPD: Charles I, 1631-3*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1862), 221; Shackerley Marmyon, *Hollands leaguer* (London, 1632), sig. I1v.

sometimes charged with political undertones. Shrovetide insurrections surfaced in Newcastle in 1633, and in later years would cause trouble in Norwich, Sutton, Preston, Bristol, and York. The Newcastle riots were particularly volatile, as apprentices and other members of the city gathered to destroy a lime kiln, which was viewed as an obstruction to common land. After destroying the offending kiln, the rioters turned on its owner before violently resisting the mayor and justices of the town. According to some contemporary accounts, the lime kiln was merely an excuse, masking a 'desire in the commons to have a change in their government'.[61] Shrovetide's reputation was likewise used as leverage during the naval crises of 1626-28, when unpaid sailors rioted frequently in and around the capital in attempts to secure their arrears.[62] During Shrovetide 1627 sailors rioted and threatened to join forces with apprentices on Shrove Tuesday if they did not get their dues. [63]

Shrovetide rioters grew ever more brazen in their targets. In 1632 Shrove Tuesday mobs in Cowcross Street pelted constables with stones to rescue recently captured fellows, while the 1636 riots capped off a six-year resurgence in Shrovetide rioting, and included tumults raised around Ely Place while the King and Queen were in residence. It is not difficult to imagine the scene inside the palace: the music and movements of a Shrovetide masque covered by the clamours of riotous crowds crafting their own brand of holiday entertainment outside. All of this occurred despite an impressive mustering of Middlesex trained bands numbering 120 horse and 1,461 foot on the day.[64]

Overall, the Shrovetide riots of Caroline England reflected both its potential for political mediation and the complex tactics used to foil the preventative measures of officials.[65] Unsurprisingly, the turmoil in the final few years of the pre-war period was accented by a Shrovetide riot in 1641, which brought a forty-year era of near-annual festive rioting to a close. The period of war, interregnum and restoration which followed saw the popular crowds of London and other corporations become fully involved in the political struggles of the nation.

[61] *CSPD: Charles I, 1627-8*, 583; *CSPD: Charles I, 1631-3*, 567-8, 570, 585, 587, and 590.
[62] Lindley, 112-3; Manning, 215-7.
[63] *CSPV: Vol. 20, 1626*-1628, 123; 'Trinity House of Deptford Transactions, 1609-35,' in *London Record Society 19*, ed. G. G. Harris (London, 1983), 94-5.
[64] BCB 8, fo. 80v: Three men (Thomas Hatfield, Thomas Hallat, and John Lovell) were brought in to Bridewell for the offence. *CSPD: Charles I, 1635-6*, 196.
[65] Manning states that the 'popular disorders of Charles I's reign reveal a growing political awareness on the part of the London crowd' in *Village Revolts*, 214.

Shrovetide and its custom of crowd rioting likewise became an increasingly politicised tool within this period of turbulent change.

War, Interregnum, and Restoration: Politicising of Shrovetide

During the early years of Civil War, the powers that be in London and elsewhere in the realm recognized and feared the explosive potential of Shrovetide. After Charles fled the capital in the early months of 1642, the Houses of Parliament took over the duty of calling out trained bands and watches for the holiday. In 1642 and 1643 the Houses ordered appropriate measures for the ‘suppressing of all Riots, Routs, and unlawful Assemblies’ in London, Middlesex, and Surrey during Shrovetide.[66] Although the London crowd was quiet on Shrove Tuesday 1642, Parliamentarian propagandists seized the opportunity to weave the symbolic language of the threatening festival into anti-ecclesiastic rhetoric. In February of said year, a satirical pamphlet was distributed in the capital, mocking the plight of the twelve bishops who had been locked in the Tower of London after the volatile December sessions of Parliament. The satirist described a presumably fictitious Shrove Tuesday banquet sent to the prisoners, with each prelate receiving a different dish traditionally associated with the holiday. The feast included a ‘Dish of Pancakes, composed of the biting pepper of censure, the parliaments Justice, the abstract of knavery, and the extract of Tyrannicall Episcopacie’ presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury; an ‘old Cudgel-beaten Cock sent to the Bishop of Gloucester’; and a ‘dish of Collops and Egges to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that made him so lusty, that hee was forthwith enamoured on every female Sexe’. These dishes were presented by the ‘Apprentices of London, with the Watermens Attendance’. The holiday’s reputation for riot and violence was also put to use by the pamphleteer:

> ‘The Apprentices when they delivered this dish, supposed the bishop to be some mere, trician Whore, in regard of his Surplice, which they imagined to be a smocke, and therefore thought to have pull’d him out of the Tower…’

[66] *Journal of the House of Lords* (*JHL*)*: Volume 4, 1629-42* (London, 1767-1830), 593-4; *JHL: Volume 5, 1642-1643,* 598-9.

In the conclusion of the cutting piece, the trained bands, who had ‘met in the Fields for the security and defence of the city’ mockingly drank to the bishops’ health as the prelates disgracefully gorged upon their symbolic meal.[67]

In the years of war following, the restraints on popular Shrovetide revelling and rioting were apparently strongly upheld in London, for in February 1647 the apprentices of the city felt the need to petition Parliament for a decrease in holiday restrictions. The petitioners eloquently appealed to the ‘ancient Constitutions’ of the kingdom, which had set aside ‘certain Annual Festivals’ as the only days ‘used for the Recreation of Youth, which, for their superstitious and riotous abuse are now generally slighted’. They lamented that they were deprived of ‘visiting their friends and kindred’. They had been left bereft of ‘all set times of Pleasure and Lawful Recreation’ and beseeched the Lords to restore the same, for ‘without which Life itself is unpleasant and an intolerable burden’.[68] The apprentices got more than they bargained for in June 1647, when after much deliberation, Parliament responded by ordering the abolishment and suppression of any and all Holy-day observances. In their stead, scholars, apprentices, and other servants were granted the second Tuesday of every month as a time of ‘reasonable Recreation and Relaxation from their constant and ordinary Labours’.[69] This act of Parliament was merely the first step in a Puritan campaign against calendar customs which continued until the Restoration. Now not only were the festive spaces of Shrovetide blocked, but the holiday’s temporal parameters were made (officially) meaningless.

The practical success of Parliament’s order is somewhat dubious however, for the threat of Shrovetide rioting reappeared almost immediately. On 5 February 1648, Henry, Earl of Kent warned the officials of London and its suburbs of ‘many seditious and scandalous papers’ which had been dispersed by John Lilburne and his associates to ‘move the people to disobedience and force against Parliament’. A few days later the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the same, further illuminating the situation:

[67] *A Shrove-Tvesday banqvet sent to the bishops in the tovver* (London, 1642).
[68] C. H. Parry, ed. *The Parliaments and Councils of England: Chronologically Arranged, From the Reign of William I to the Revolution in 1688* (1839), 475.
[69] *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 6, 1645-47*, ed. John Rushworth (London, 1722), 545-7

> 'We are informed that divers disaffected and discontented persons about the City are endeavouring to raise some tumults and insurrections, and have determined to take advantage of Shrove Tuesday for that purpose'.

On Shrove Monday, 14 February, the Houses of Parliament followed up by calling on the 'Militias in and about the city' to prevent the 'insurrection intended on Shrove Tuesday next'.[70]

During the Commonwealth, festive observances of all kinds were suppressed and attacked. The trials of Christmas during the Interregnum have received much attention, but Shrovetide was also a site of struggle.[71] Whilst Shrovetide rioting had never been officially sanctioned, the holiday's other celebrated customs of cock-fighting, cock-threshing, and sporting in general had remained relatively unchallenged over the centuries. By 1651, however, the popular observances of cock-fighting, football, bear-baiting, horse-racing, and stage-plays had all been banned as uncouth events which facilitated unlawful assemblies.[72] Towns such as Maidstone and cities such as Bristol soon followed suit in forbidding 'throwing at cocks', 'tossing of doggs' and other 'diverse abuses and disorders…done and committed on Shrove Tuesdaies'.[73] Such measures were not empty gestures either; judicial records of London and Bristol show indictments for dog tossing, cock-fighting and the like.[74] As for the specific custom of Shrovetide riot, the threat still loomed large in London: on Shrove Tuesday 1655, Cromwell 'directed three large companies of horse to march through the city, and bodies of mounted men were kept moving in every part of it, to observe and control and to bring to naught any evil designs'.[75] With these ordinances and the Puritan abolition of Lent, the very existence of

[70] *CSPD: Charles I, 1648-9*, 14-16.
[71] For more on the conflicts over popular customs and holidays during the Civil War and Interregnum, particularly Christmas, see Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England*, 200-26; and also C. Durston, 'Lords of Misrule,' *History Today* (1985).
[72] *CSPD: Interregnum, 1651*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1877), 82. Such ordinances were repeated yearly from 1654-7 and 1659.
[73] K. S. Martin, *Records of Maidstone Being Selections from Documents in the Possession of the Corporation* (Maidstone, 1926), 131; BRO: Orders and Proceedings of Mayor and Aldermen (26 February 1655; 6 March 1660) M/BCC/MAY/1//1, fos.15-6, 134.
[74] On 11 February 1657, five servants from Bristol were committed for 'tossing of dogges in a tumultuous manner contrary to the command of Master Mayor' while nine others were tried for riotously attacking a journeyman shipwright of the city: BRO, M/BCC/MAY/1//1, fo. 62-3. In London 1656, a diverse group of seven men, including a brewer, carpenter, yeoman, merchant, and gentleman, were tried at the Middlesex sessions 'for being present att an unlawfull assembly and game of Cockfighting' in Stepney on 3 March, 'contrary to an Ordinance of his Highnesse the Lord Protector': *Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1888), 244.
[75] *CSPV, Vol. 30, 1655-6*, 30.

Shrovetide was challenged in every way. All of Shrovetide’s structural components were undermined as those in power restricted festive custom, space, and time.

Despite the restrictions, Shrovetide rioting did not disappear, and indeed, the Interregnum marked another shift in the character of the festive riots. Whereas before the festival might be used as a medium for social and political protests, under the Protectorate festive culture itself often became a topic and catalyst for violent protest. On Shrove Tuesday 1657, a riot erupted when the headborough of Bethnall Greene attempted to stop ‘a great multitude of people’ assembled ‘unlawfully and riotously at a Cockwhipping’ in the fields outside the city. The Shrovetide revellers did not take kindly to the obstruction of their traditional holiday custom, and the ‘officer and his watch were dangerously resisted and opposed’ by the crowd.[76] During January and February 1660, in the final months of the tottering Commonwealth, Bristol apprentices rose in great numbers, seizing control of parts of the city and calling for a free parliament. After the rising was quieted by troops, the mayor of the city took pains to reiterate prohibitions for the upcoming Shrove Tuesday, ‘for the better prevention of disorderly and tumultuous meetings of the people’. When the mayor’s bellman ordered that ‘all persons whatsoever forbeare to put up or throw at any cock or hen or tosse any doggs or play at footeball within this city or liberties thereof’, the gathered crowd assaulted him and ripped the bell from his back. The next day apprentices inverted the orders of the mayor, throwing at geese instead of cocks and tossing cats instead of dogs. The rioters placed themselves in front of the mayor’s residence on St Nicholas Street, so that the official would be sure to witness their festive protest. When the sheriff tried to drive the rioters away, the apprentices ‘broke his head’.[77]

Within a few months of the Bristol riots, the Restoration was underway and with it came a triumphant return of many traditional festivals and customs. A contemporary ballad reflects the popular joy at this return, with just a bit of added festive menace:

[76] *Middlesex County Records*, iii. 259. Three London weavers were charged with bringing the cockerel and instigating the riot.
[77] BRO: M/BCC/MAY/1//1, fo. 134; Three Bristol Calendars BRO:44954/1/5, folios are not numbered. See each calendar entry for 1659/60.

‘But wee will bee merry, and spend an odd feaster
At Christmas, at Whitsontide, Shrovetide and Easter
Wee’l play our old pranks
Rejoyce and give thanks
And those that oppose wee will cripple their shanks’[78]

In January and February of 1661, the streets of London were flooded with pamphlets proclaiming the return of the Lenten fast and its restrictions on the meat industry.[79] These were followed by a pair of broadsides depicting allegorical representations of Shrovetide and Lent arrayed in pseudo-weaponry and armour – a classic illustration of the battle of Carnival and Lent (**Fig. 5 & 6**). Distributed from a shop in the Royal Exchange, the pamphlet celebrated the return of British Carnival with deliberate references to gluttony and violence: ‘Here Lent and Shrovetyde, claime their proper right, / Are both resolved and prepar’d to fight’. The corpulent champion rides a fat cow, wears a grid-iron slung across his back, an iron pot for a helmet, and carries a roasting spit for a lance, with ‘his Flagge a Cookes foule Apron…Fix’d to a Broome’. The latter directly alludes to the make-shift standards sometimes carried by Shrovetide rioters in the first half of the century. In John Taylor’s satirical account of the holiday he describes an ‘Ensigne made of a piece of a Bakers mawkin fit vpon a Broome-staffe’.[80] Such militaristic symbols of the Shrove Tuesday crowd may have survived the Civil War and Protectorate, but the aggressive campaign against Shrovetide rioting itself which took place during those years appears to have been largely effective; after the Restoration, Carnival rioting did not return to its pre-war regularity in London. It did, however, remain an ever-present threat. The Poor Robin’s almanac of 1665 warned the notorious bawd Damaris Page to ‘build her Castle walls high’ before Shrove Tuesday ‘lest the London-Prentices faign Cannons to beat them down’.[81] This proved to be a remarkably prophetic almanac, for Damaris Page’s brothel was one of the first buildings pulled down in the infamous bawdy house riots of 1668. During these disturbances, the Shrovetide tradition of the bawdy house sack was appropriated for use during Easter week. Tim Harris, in his detailed analysis of the holiday riots, warns against single,

[78] *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph. Bold Phanaticks now make room CHARLS the Second's coming home. As it was voted in the House of May-day last 1660.* (London, 1660).
[79] See for e.g. *By the King. A proclamation, for restraint of killing, dressing, and eating of flesh in Lent, or on fish-dayes, appointed by the law to be observed* (London, 1661).
[80] *Shrovetyde* (London, 1661); *Lent* (London, 1661). These seem to be reissues of prints originally made in the 1630s, using contemporary French engravings and verses written by John Taylor. See M. Jones, ‘Engraved Works Recorded in the “Stationers’ Register”, 1562-1656: A Listing and Commentary’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 64 (2002), 39. Taylor, *Iack a Lent*, sig. B2v.
[81] *Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion* (London, 1665), sig. A6r.

simple interpretations of the events, but does argue that there were 'powerful political themes being expressed' underneath the façade of ritualised attacks.[82] Whatever the case, the insurrections reflect an increasing separation of the brothel riot custom from the medium of Shrove Tuesday. Bawdy house riots cropped up in London and other cities in 1667, 1671, and 1679, but none of them during Shrovetide.[83] In fact, contemporary almanacs suggest that by the 1670s, in the wake of the 1668 riots, bawds feared the Easter holidays 'far more than a Shrove-Tuesday'.[84]

While the tradition of brothel rioting may have gradually detached itself from Shrovetide, an account from 1671 attests that the holiday still proved an 'unruly day in most corporations'.[85] Bristol experienced Shrove Tuesday insurrections in 1670 and 1685, and the York Minster endured a violent assault in 1673.[86] London apprentices plotted Shrovetide insurrections in 1680 and 1684, but thought better of them in the long run.[87] By the last quarter of the seventeenth century it is apparent that what had once been a yearly custom of riot had devolved into sporadic episodes of Shrovetide vandalism and disorder. The last hard evidence of a Shrove Tuesday riot in London comes from a letter written around 1695, in the midst of William III's war with France: 'There's a venerable Bawd in Covent Garden, that had her Windows demolished last Shrove-Tuesday, and she won't repair them neither, till there's a General Peace'.[88] Shrovetide rioting retained cultural currency through the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first of the eighteenth, but by the early rule of the Hanoverians it was a phenomenon of the past.[89] For an entire century, Shrove Tuesdays witnessed tumults, riots and insurrections raised by various insurgents in diverse urban areas. As a festive custom it underwent constant change, shifting under structural pressures and in turn exerting pressure upon the wider socio-political environment. The next section deconstructs this efficacy through an analysis of the rioters and their victims.

---

[82] Harris, 82-91

[83] J. Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 80-1.

[84] *Poor Robin* (London, 1672), sig. A6r; (1673), sig. A6r: 'But as for the Whores who formerly used to dread this day; they now fear one Easter-Monday more than two Shrove-Tuesdays…'

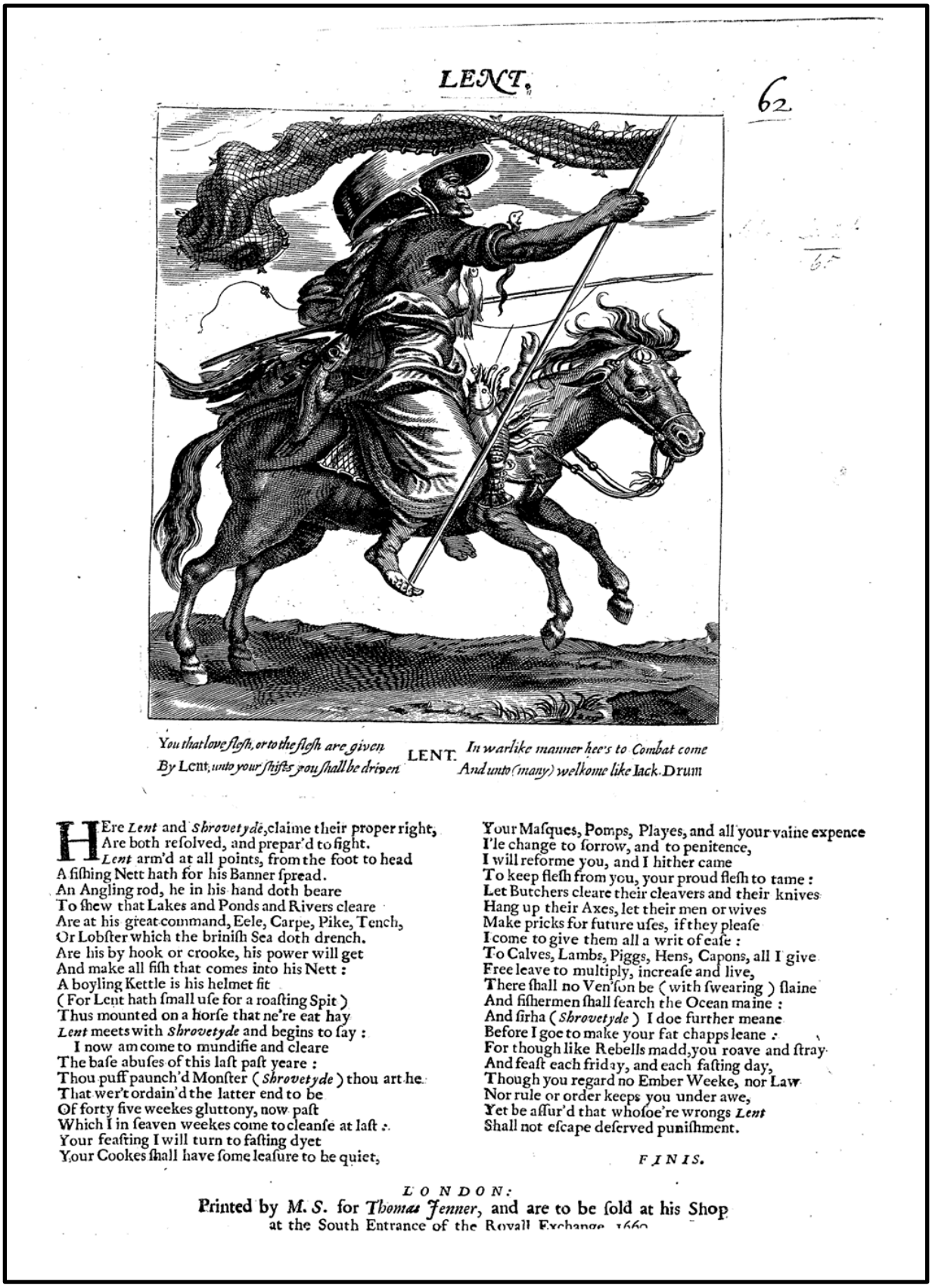
[85] *CSPD: Charles II, 1671*, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell (London, 1895), 124.

[86] *CSPD: Charles II, 1670*, 76; BRO:44954/2/4, folios are not numbered. See each calendar entry for 1684/5; *CSPD: Charles II, 1672-3*, 546-7; *CSPD: Charles II, 1673*, 36.

[87] Thomas Dangerfield, *Tho. Dangerfield's answer to a certain scandalous lying pamphlet entituled, Malice defeated*, (London, 1680), 16; *CSPD: Charles II, 1683-4*, 261, 269.

[88] Wilmot, 209.

[89] See Williams, iii. 1247.



LENT. 62.

You that love flesh, or to the flesh are given
By Lent, unto your shifts you shall be driven

LENT.

In warlike manner hee's to Combat come
And unto (many) welcome like Jack Drum

HEre *Lent* and *Shrovetyde*, claime their proper right,
Are both resolved, and prepar'd to fight.
Lent arm'd at all points, from the foot to head
A fishing Nett hath for his Banner spread.
An Angling rod, he in his hand doth beare
To shew that Lakes and Ponds and Rivers cleare
Are at his great command, Eele, Carpe, Pike, Tench,
Or Lobster which the brinish Sea doth drench.
Are his by hook or crooke, his power will get
And make all fish that comes into his Nett:
A boyling Kettle is his helmet fit
(For Lent hath small use for a roasting Spit)
Thus mounted on a horse that ne're eat hay
Lent meets with *Shrovetyde* and begins to say:
I now am come to mundifie and cleare
The base abuses of this last past yeare:
Thou puff paunch'd Monster (*Shrovetyde*) thou art he
That wer't ordain'd the latter end to be
Of forty five weekes gluttony, now past
Which I in seaven weekes come to cleanse at last:
Your feasting I will turn to fasting dyet
Your Cookes shall have some leasure to be quiet,
Your Masques, Pomps, Playes, and all your vaine expence
I'le change to sorrow, and to penitence,
I will reforme you, and I hither came
To keep flesh from you, your proud flesh to tame:
Let Butchers cleare their cleavers and their knives
Hang up their Axes, let their men or wives
Make pricks for future uses, if they please
I come to give them all a writ of ease:
To Calves, Lambs, Piggs, Hens, Capons, all I give
Free leave to multiply, increase and live,
There shall no Ven'son be (with swearing) slaine
And fishermen shall search the Ocean maine:
And sirha (*Shrovetyde*) I doe further meane
Before I goe to make your fat chapps leane:
For though like Rebells madd, you roave and stray
And feast each friday, and each fasting day,
Though you regard no Ember Weeke, nor Law
Nor rule or order keeps you under awe,
Yet be assur'd that whosoe're wrongs *Lent*
Shall not escape deserved punishment.

FINIS.

LONDON:
Printed by *M. S.* for *Thomas Jenner*, and are to be sold at his Shop
at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1660

FIGURE 5 *Lent* (London, 1661). © British Library Board, Wing (2nd ed.) / L1056; Thomason /669.f.26[65]. Reproduced with kind permissions of the British Library and ProQuest LLC. who produced the image for *Early English Books Online*. Further reproduction prohibited without permission of ProQuest at www.proquest.com.

SHROVETYDE

64

You that hate Fasting, Dearth, and starving Leanes,
Spits bright hang'd up, and Teeth and Platters Cleanes

SHROVE TYDE. *Behold your Champion Shrovetide in his fray*
Would murder Lent, and every fasting day.

FAtt *Shrovetyde*, mounted on a good fatt *Oxe*,
Suppos'd that *Lent* was mad, or caught a *Foxe*,
Armd *Cap a pea* from head unto the heele,
A Spit, his long-sword, somewhat worse then steele
(Sheath'd in a fatt Pigge, and a peece of Porke)
His bottles fil'd with Wine, well stopt with Corke
The two plump Capons, fluttering at his Crupper,
And's shoulders lac'd with Sawsages for Supper,
The Gridir'n (like a well strung Instrument)
Hung at his backe, and for the Turnament
His Helmet is a brasse Pott, and his Flagge
A Cookes foule Apron, which the wind doth wagg,
Fixd to a Broome, thus bravely he did ride
And boldly to his foe, he thus replyde.
What art thou, thou leane jawde Anottamie
All spirit (for I no flesh upon thee spie)
Thou bragging peece of ayre and smoake, that prat'st
And all good fellowship and friendship hat'st,
You'le turne our feasts to fasts, when, can you tell
Against your spight, we are provided well.
Thou sayst thou'lt ease the Cookes, the Cooks could wish
Thee boyld or broyld with all thy froathy fish,
For one fish dinner takes more paines and cost
Then three of flesh, bak'd, roast or boyld, almost,
You'le take away our playes, our sports and pleasure
And give the Butchers time for ease and leasure,
Alasse poor scabbe, how barren are thy hopes
The Fencers, Beares, and Dauncers on the Ropes,
Is manly sport, or lawlesse recreation
Which all thy sev'n weeks time, are still in fashion,
The truth is, thou aswagest few mens hunger
And hast no faithfull friend but the Fishmonger.
There's little danger to attend on me
When men are drownd at Sea to furnish thee,
Pease pottage, and dryde beanes, by proofe we find
Offends and fills men with unwholsome wind,
And ere I'le be a slave and pinch my maw
I'le breake all Proclamation, rule and Law,
Wee'le fill our Tubs with powdred flesh, beside
By licenc't Butchers we will be supplyde
With fresh meat; so hungry *Lent* adieu,
We are resolv'd to feed in spight of you.

FINIS.

LONDON:
Printed by *M. S.* for *Thomas Jenner*, and are to be sold at his Shop
at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1660.

FIGURE 6 *Shrovetyde* (London, 1661). © British Library Board, Wing (2nd ed.) / S3701; Thomason / 669.f.26[64]. Reproduced with kind permissions of the British Library and ProQuest LLC. who produced the image for *Early English Books Online*. Further reproduction prohibited without permission of ProQuest at www.proquest.com.

The Shrovetide Rioter: A Prosopography

Riots endure today as ever-present threats to civic stability, and communicative tools for the disenfranchised. In the aftermath of events like the 2011 London riots, the 2014 Ferguson race riots, or the widespread destruction following the 2015 Euro crisis in Greece, people search for explanation. What motivates individuals to riot, and do they hope to accomplish anything? Even in modern contexts answers remain elusive. Students of the seventeenth-century Shrovetide riots face similar problems and use similar tactics to solve them: examine the rioter; examine their environment. Contemporaries and historians have overwhelmingly attributed the riots to apprentices or 'youth groups' and this assumption has lent itself to two dominant hypotheses for riot motive: a need to let off steam through cathartic violence; and a desire to take the law into their own hands and exact communal justice. Looking closer at evidence on the ground, however, complicates these explanations and calls into question neat definitions of social function for these festive outbreaks.

From the first references to Shrove Tuesday riots in Jacobean plays, contemporaries usually connected the act of destroying bawdy houses and generally causing destruction to London apprentices.[90] Contemporary accounts, such as the letters of John Chamberlain, seem to corroborate the musings of poets. In March 1611, for instance, Chamberlain wrote that 'our 'prentices were very unruly on Shrove-Tuesday, and pulled down a house or two of good fellowship'.[91] Judicial records of the riots sometimes repeat such language, describing an 'unlawfull assembly of the apprentizes' on Shrove Tuesday 1614, or levelling a charge of 'ayding and assisting to the apprentices on shrove-tuesdaie' in 1609.[92] Many contemporary observers, however, also admitted that apprentices rarely acted alone. In the final years of Elizabethan rule, city officials called Shrovetide troublemakers 'divers lewd, riotous and unruly persons'.[93] After the 1617 riot, the Privy Council described the crowd as 'a disordered multitude, of which, though many were apprentices, yet the greatest number were rogues and vagrant persons'. The orders for Shrovetide watches and trained bands which followed in the next three decades used similar language, calling the apprentice accomplices 'leud and ill

[90] For the most comprehensive list of such references published to date see Williams, iii. 1245-1247; also see Laroque, 97-104 and Brand, i. 89-94.
[91] *The Court and Times of James the First*, 2 vols. (London, 1848) i. 138.
[92] LMA: MJ/SR/0469/28, 99, 104 (1609); MJ/SR/0529/4, 6-9, 20, 34, 78, 80, 98, 141, 172. (1614)
[93] LMA: COL/CC/01/01/025, fos. 28v, 147v.

affected' or 'loose and dissolute persons'.[94] Self-styled Water Poet, John Taylor, spoke of Shrove Tuesday rioters as an 'unruly Rabble' that 'did falsely take upon them the name of London Prentices'.[95] The suburbs of London were notorious haunts for vagrants and other outsiders of society, and it was often noted that riots started by apprentices or others were quickly hijacked by an opportunistic mob of malcontents. In 1720 John Strype looked back on the riots of the previous century, describing the vagrant opportunists as 'Apprentices of the Dreggs of the Vulgar, Fellows void of worthy Blood, and worthy Breeding;…perhaps not Apprentices at all, but forlorn Companions, masterless Men, and Tradeless, and the like. Who prying for Mischief, and longing to do it, have been the very Authors of all that is vile'.[96] Clearly, the contemporary view was that of Chamberlain's: apprentices and suburban malcontents were the problem.[97]

While quotes from legal documents at times support these common assumptions, closer examination of the information contained in those same proceedings of justice suggests a far more complicated picture of riot participation, undermining traditional interpretations. To test this, a prosopography of the Shrovetide rioter was created using the indictments, recognizances (e.g. **Fig. 7**), registers and examinations of the Middlesex and Westminster sessions of the peace and gaol delivery, the minutes from the Bridewell courtbooks, the repertories of the London court of aldermen and other miscellaneous sources. The result is a dataset related to as many as 50 geographically distinct crowd disturbances, which took place over a 43-year period from 1598-1641.[98] In addition to the locations and victims of these mob actions, the dataset

[94] *APCE Vol. 35, 1616-1617*, 175; *APCE Vol. 38, 1621-1623*, 152; *APCE Vol. 46, 1630-1631*, 225.
[95] John Taylor, *A bavvd A vertuous bawd, a modest bawd: as shee deserves, reproove, or else applaud* (London, 1635), sig. B8r.
[96] John Stow, *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. J. Strype (London, 1720), ii. 332-3.
[97] *The Court and Times of James the First*, 2 vols. (London, 1848) i. 138.
[98] The sample covers Shrovetide crowd disturbances from the following years: 1598, 1600, 1602, 1606-1621, 1623-4, 1626-9, 1632-38, 1641. Sources: (1598) LMA, MJ/SR/0353/43; (1600) MJ/SR/0377/38; (1602) MJ/SR/0399/16-18, 22, 28, 49; MJ/SR/0400/118,130; (1606) BCB 5/92, 94v; COL/CA/01/01/27/171; (1607) MJ/SR/444/68, 92, 98, 99, 100; (1608) MJ/SR/0457/58-62, 76-7; (1609) MJ/SR/0469/28, 99, 102; (1610) BCB 5/416; (1611) MJ/SR/0498/54-56, 58-63, 144; (1612) MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; (1613) MJ/SR/0517/100, 140; MJ/SR/0519/18, 20, 52, 65-6, 73, 154; (1614) MJ/SR/0529/4, 6-9, 20, 34, 78, 80, 98; (1615) MJ/SR/0538/32; (1616) MJ/SR/0548/13; MJ/SR/0547/87; MJ/SR/0547/17, 173; MJ/SR/0548/92, 93, 98; (1617) MJ/GB/R/02/113-115; MJ/SR/0558/26, 60; (1618) MJ/SB/R/02/0487, 491, 500; MJ/SR/0563/5, 103; BCB 6/30; (1619) BCB 6/98, 98v; (1620) MJ/SR/0584/44, 45, 85, 90, 91, 93; (1621) MJ/SR/0595/81; (1623) MJ/SR/0611/183; (1624) MJ/SR/0624/132, 255; (1626) BCB 6/414v; (1627) LMA: CLC/526/MS30045/002, fo.20r, abstracted in'Trinity House of Deptford Transactions, 1609-35,' in *London Record Society 19*, ed. G. G. Harris (London, 1983), 94-5; (1628) MJ/SR/0677/61-7; MJ/SR/0678/22, 27, 33; (1629) MJ/SR/0692/13, 64, 142; MJ/SR/0693/33; MJ/SR/0694/85, MJ/SB/R/5/6, 18; BCB 7/112; (1632) MJ/SR/0740/30, 52-5, 100-104, 115, 191, 192; MJ/SR/NS/33/48,51; (1633) MJ/SR/0758/76, 146, 151; MJ/SR/NS/37/60; (1634) MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174; (1635) MJ/SR/0792/80; (1636) MJ/SR/0807/53; BCB 08/80v; (1637) WJ/SR/NS/46/4; WJ/SR/NS/47/95, 118; (1638) WJ/SR/NS/51/137; (1641) MJ/SR/0890/29, 73, 74, 112-4, 130. See Appendix D for dataset.

contains information on the names, professions and residences of 255 people brought in for Shrovetide tumults over the period.[99] By collating the data from all such records, we can infer much about the primary perpetrators and their possible motivations.

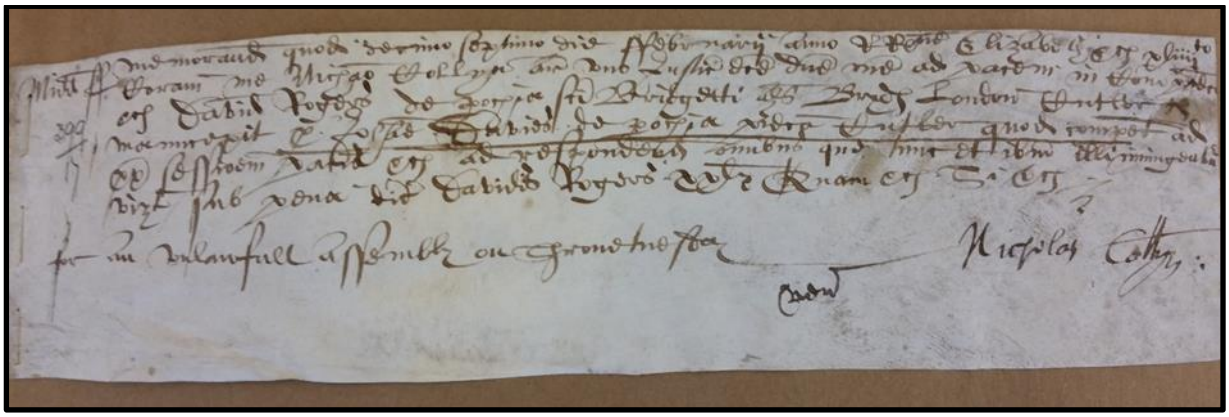
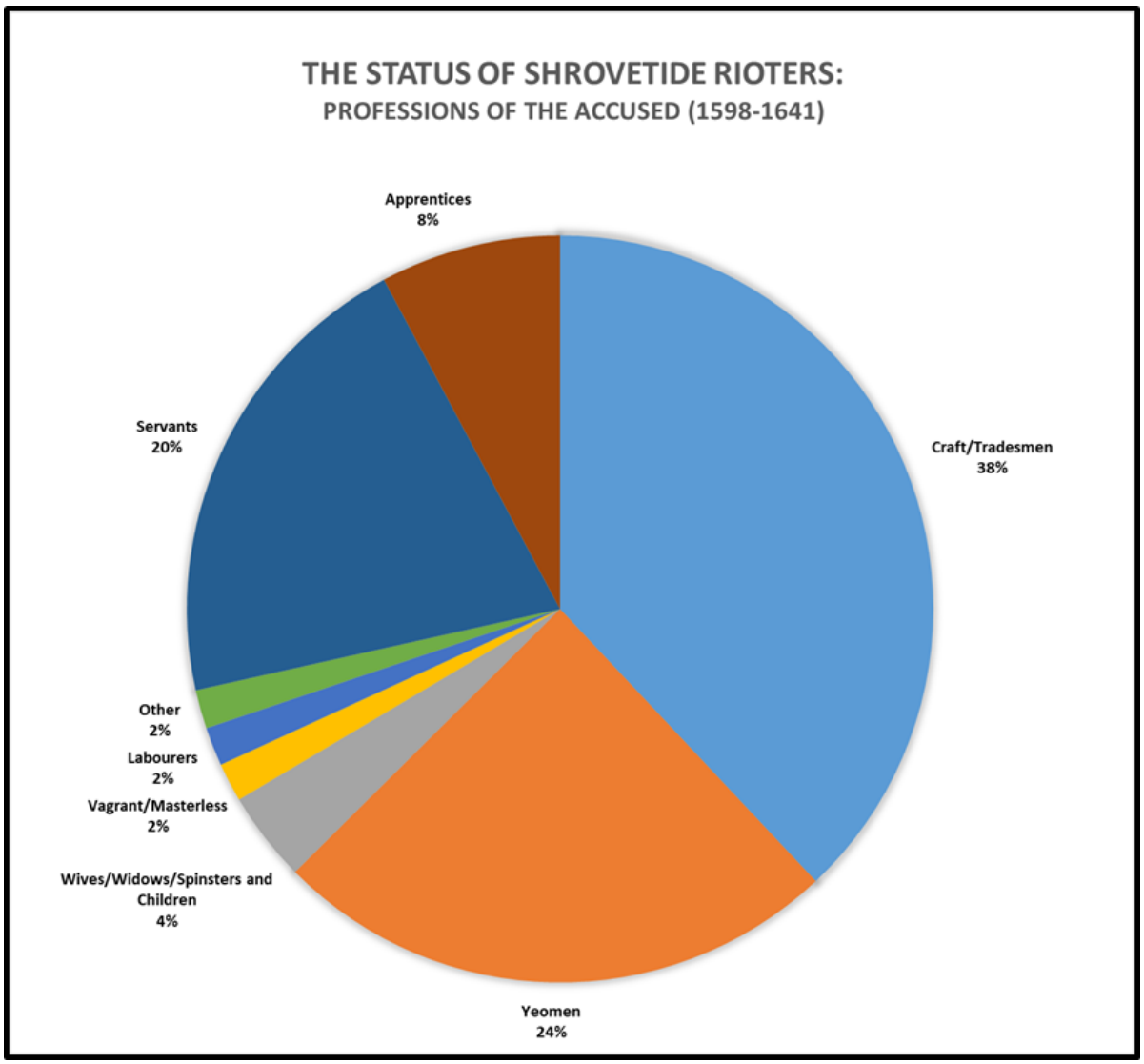


FIGURE 7 Recognizance ‘for an unlawfull assembly on Shrovetuesday’ in 1602, LMA, Middlesex Sessions of the Peace MJ/SR/0399/17. Credit: Reproduced with kind permission from the London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.

Information on the profession or status of 179 members of the total sample reveals, somewhat surprisingly, that only 8% of this group can be positively identified as apprentices (see **Fig. 8**). Far more numerous in the sample are men of specific crafts and trades (38%), servants (20%) and yeomen (24%). These designations of profession or status do present problems for interpretation. It is possible that apprentices were sometimes labelled ‘servants’ in the Latin of the judicial records. Company ordinances, for instance, often referred to journeymen, apprentices and domestic servants collectively as ‘serving men’ despite the significant social distinctions between each group. Nevertheless, many indictments and recognizances display a high level of precision in noting social class and distinguishing between domestic servant and apprentice. Scribes also do not appear to have labelled journeymen as servants with any regularity, as this can sometimes be tested through comparison with surviving livery company records. [100] Robert Manning warns that contemporaries often used the term apprentices ‘loosely and generically’ and Peter Earle has even argued that it was used as a ‘synonym for youth in

[99] Eventually, sureties, rulings and sentences will be included as well, but at this stage they have not been completely added to the dataset. All accused have been included in the sample regardless of the verdict. The reasoning here is that a presentment tells us something about who was perceived to be capable of such riots, even if no true bill was found at the end of the judicial process. There are any number of legal reasons accused could be acquitted, and we are simply never privy to that information.

[100] See *Records of London Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freemen, 1400-1900*, http://www.londonroll.org/home



FIGURES 8 Breakdown of the professions and statuses of 179 individuals accused or indicted for Shrove Tuesday rioting in London and its suburbs from 1598-1641.

general’ during the early modern period.[101] As such, session records which do refer to ‘assemblies of apprentices’, like those for the 1608, 1609, and 1614 riots, might not necessarily reflect a homogenous group united by their indentures.[102] Even if it is assumed that all servants from the sample were actually apprentices in order to form a hypothetical ‘adolescent group’ they account for only about 30% of the sample as compared to the 70% made up predominately of established craftsmen and yeomen (**Fig. 9**). Although the term yeoman is itself ambiguous

[101] Manning, 193; P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London, 1989), 104.
[102] LMA: MJ/SR/0457/58-62, 76-7 (1608); MJ/SR/0469/28, 99, 104 (1609); MJ/SR/0529/4, 6-9, 20, 34, 78, 80, 98, 141, 172 (1614).

in the urban context, it is associated with a degree of status and independence removed from domestic servitude or apprenticeship. The yeomanry, or bachelor sub-companies within most of London’s livery companies, for example, were made up of journeymen at one end of the spectrum and householders below the rank of liverymen at the other.[103]

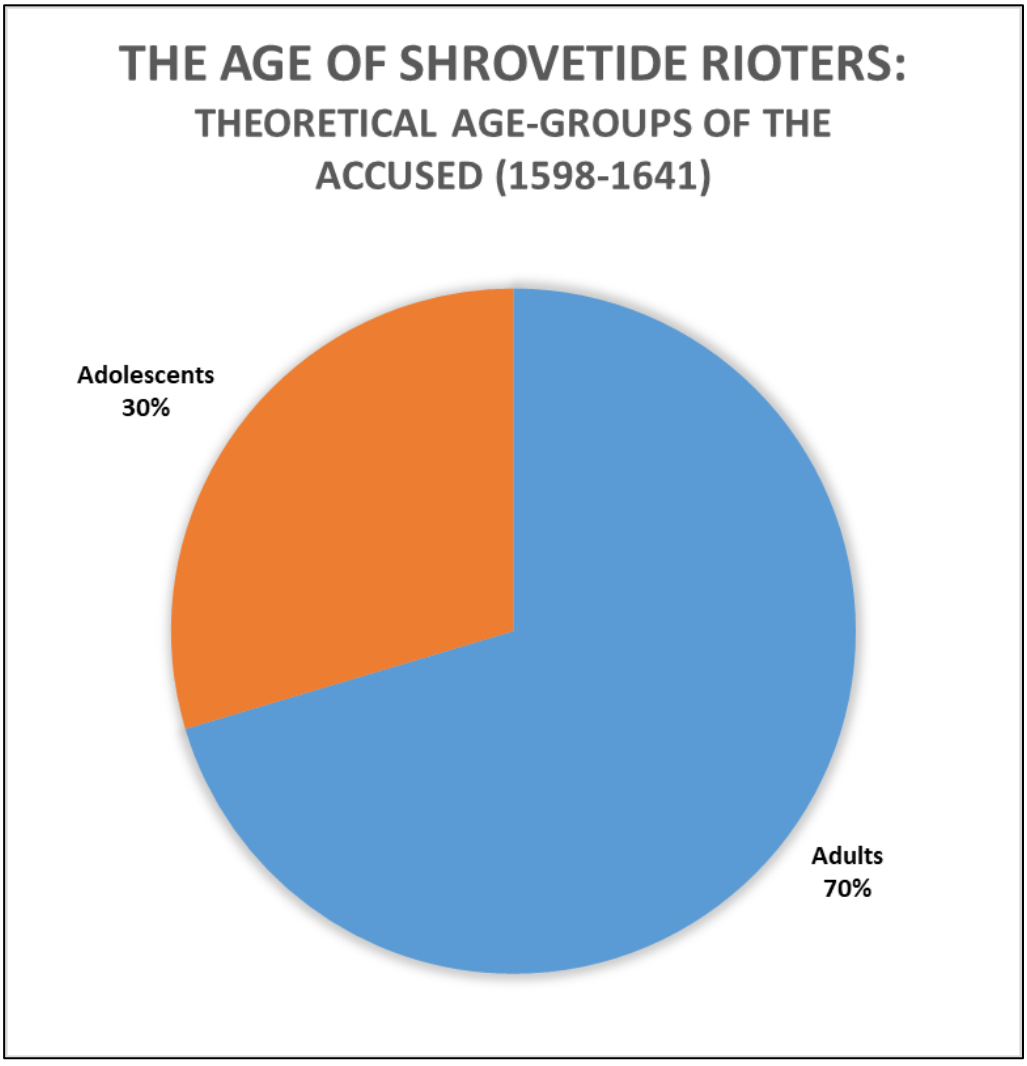


FIGURE 9 Estimation of the ages of 179 individuals accused or indicted for Shrove Tuesday rioting in London and its suburbs from 1598-1641. Age has been estimated using records of social status.

These data suggest a much higher number of older and more established individuals participated in the riots than has typically been proposed. Paul Seaver and other scholars have offered that fewer apprentices in the judicial records may simply reflect a hesitance to punish apprentices during the period, and a view that journeymen and householders should be held responsible as ringleaders: boys will be boys, but men should know better. Magistrates

[103] Rappaport, 219-231.

certainly claimed, truthfully or not, to have rounded up the ‘chief causes and authors’ and ‘aggravators of tumults’ whenever they brought perpetrators to the sessions, but such ‘principall Offendours’ did often include apprentices and servants. If the underlying philosophy was that ‘boys’ should not be held to blame, it is difficult to explain why they appear in session records throughout the period in question, even if in lower numbers than craftsmen. Based on the process by which perpetrators were named at the sessions – either by victims, constables or other witnesses – those who stood accused were those who could be successfully caught, recognized, or identified by an informant as a ringleader.[104] For example, in 1609 Katherine Brome, the wife of a shoemaker in Shoreditch, was summoned for ‘ayding and assisting to the apprentices on shrove-tuesdaie’. During the proceedings she named Thomas Pennington, girdler of St Lawrence Lane, as an accomplice and he was likewise ordered to appear at the next session to answer for his crimes.[105] As such the sample is likely somewhere between representative of the whole mob and representative of those who truly were chief instigators.

Analysing the social identities of rioters may reveal motivations which shaped the form and target of holiday insurrections. This essentially has been the idea behind attributing the riots to youth groups and defining them as rites of passage or administrations of justice akin to youth-abbeys in France. Over and above anything else, however, the sample presents diversity rather than uniformity. Even outside the context of early Stuart London this seems to have been the case. In the Newcastle Shrovetide insurrection of 1633, the burgesses encouraged and assisted rioting apprentices, and the trained bands were not called out for fear that they would turn coat and ‘add more strength’ to the militant throng. The planned London insurrections of 1648 were to be helmed by ‘divers disaffected and discontented persons’. Shrovetide disturbances in 1650s Bristol were blamed on ‘sundry unruly persons’, and the York riots in 1673 included householders from the city.[106]

The idea that Shrove Tuesday was exclusively a ‘boy’s night’, and that ‘girls stayed home’ does not hold up to scrutiny either. There are examples throughout the period of women getting involved in the festive riots and even leading and instigating some assaults. Though not a high

[104] The judicial process is best explained in P. S. King, ‘The Middlesex Justices 1590-1640: The Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for Middlesex’ (unpuplished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1972).
[105] LMA: MJ/SR/0469/99; MJ/SB/R/01/110, MJ/SR/0547/87, MJ/SR/0538/32.
[106] *CSPD: Charles I, 1631-3*, 567, 585; *CSPD: Charles I, 1648-9*, 14-5; BRO: M/BCC/MAY/1//1, fos.15-6; *CSPD: Charles II, 1672-3*, 547.

percentage, the total within the early Stuart sample (about 4%) does suggest women were sometimes involved, and that this participation maintained throughout the period in question.[107] Indeed, the Shrove Tuesday riot in Preston 1644 was led by ‘all women in towne, marching after a drumme, with several weapons against the excize men’.[108]

While many of the rioters were young men, these were a diverse bunch as well, including domestic servants, labourers, discharged soldiers, vagrants and apprentices. Out of the 68 craft or tradesmen included in the dataset, 34 different crafts or trades are represented. And although many of these were from traditionally poor artisanal vocations, more typically affluent professions like haberdashers and clothworkers took part in the disturbances as well. The anonymous poet of *Pasquils Palinodia* summarises this equal opportunity access to disorder best in his verses describing the Shrove Tuesday riots:

> When mad braynd Prentises, that no men feare
> O'rethrow the dens of bawdie recreation,
> When Tailors, Coblers, Plaist'rers, Smiths & Masons,
> And euery Rogue will beate down Barbers Basons,
> Whereat Don Constable in wrath appeares,
> And runs away with his stout halbadiers.[109]

Participants in the riots thus did belong to a sub-section of London society, but the division was more along socio-economic lines than age. There are no examples of gentry or liverymen being accused in the sample, and as such riot participation seems directly linked to how much access, or rather how little, one had to the official channels of power in early modern London. Tellingly, the principal demographic of the riots – apprentices, servants, artisans – parallels the beneficiaries of the ‘worker’s holiday’ already established in Chapters 1 and 2.

---

[107] Quote from Rappaport, 11. He views the riots as testosterone-fuelled outbursts which were ‘bound to occur every so often’. However, the prospography shows that the holiday riots were not always a boys’ club: Katherine Brome aided and assisted a riot in 1609, Lettice Cotton attacked a constable who had accosted her rioting apprentice in 1616, Susan Forde, Eleanor Piffe, and Joan Danyell were tried and convicted alongside their male companions for the widespread destruction of 1617, and in 1629 the vagrant women Bridgett Gibbes and Alice Spencer were thrown into Bridewell for contributing to a ‘tumult in Little Moorefields’: BCB 7/112.

[108] Wigan Archives and Local Studies, D/D An/Bundle 67/19, Letter from Luke Hodgkinson to Hugh Anderton, c.1644.

[109] *Pasquils Palinodia,* (1619) quoted in Brand, I, p.93. The ‘Barbers Basons’ refer to the rough music which often accompanied riotous actions against prostitutes on Shrovetide. ‘Don Constable’ and his ‘stout halbadiers’ were evidently responding, ineffectively, to non-sanctioned crowd actions which involved more than just young apprentices.

As to the narrative that riots were the sole preserve of suburban vagrants, an analysis of the residences of the accused puts this into question as well. The riots from 1612-1614 provide an illustrative case study. Over three consecutive Shrove Tuesdays, mobs assaulted the brothel of a notorious Shoreditch bawd named Mistress Leake. Out of the twenty-nine individuals arrested for the crime over the three-year period, only four were from Shoreditch. The rest came from further afield in Stepney, Clerkenwell, St Katherine’s, Southwark, with the largest part from the City of London. The Leake sample is a microcosm of the whole: rioters frequently travelled in from diverse suburban locations, but the largest part resided within the bounds of the City of London (**Fig. 10**). The riots may have taken place in the suburbs, but they were products of the entire metropolis.

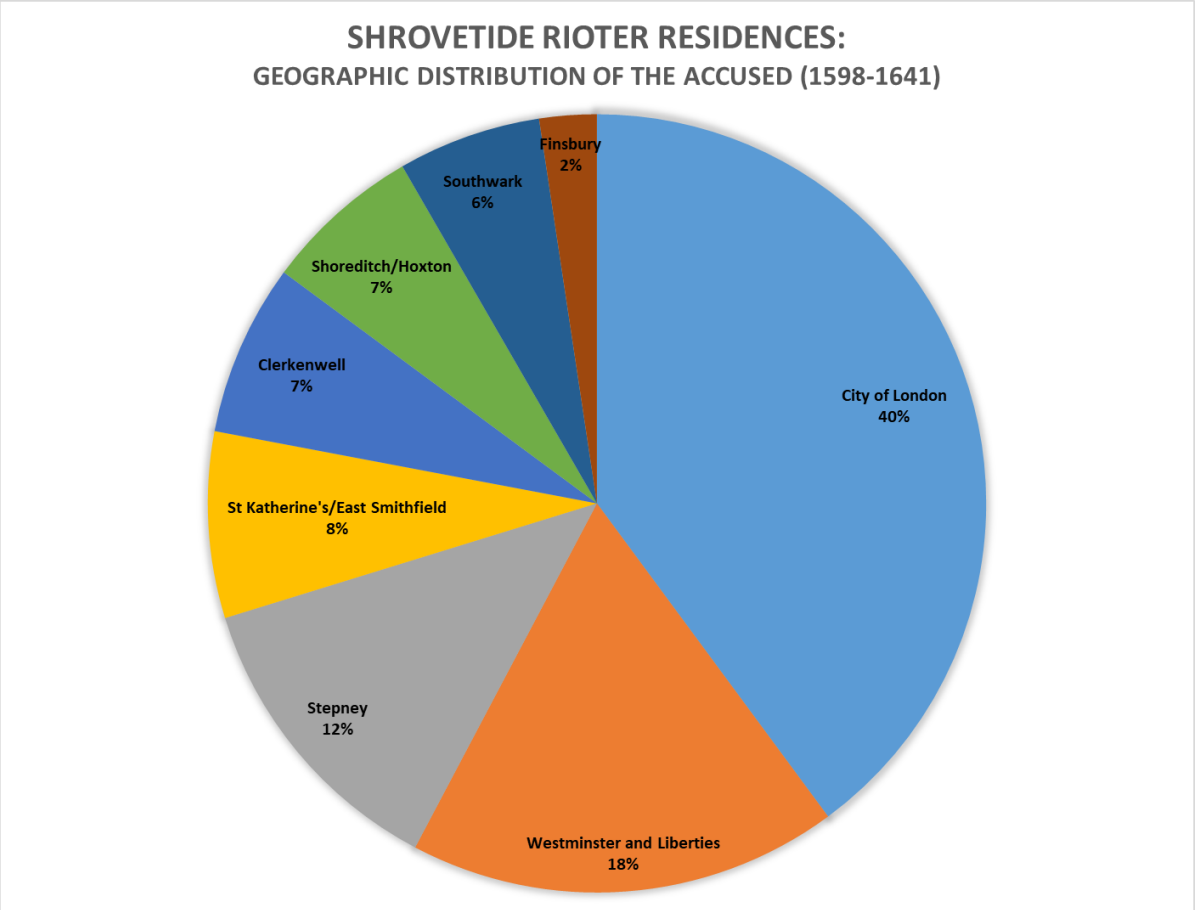


FIGURE 10 Distribution of the residences of 168 individuals accused of Shrovetide riot, arranged by city, suburb or liberty (1598-1641).

In the face of these new data, how do traditional historiographical interpretations of the Shrovetide riots fare? Due to the annual nature of the riots, probes for meaning and function

have tended to focus on long-term, systemic problems and motivations (i.e. adolescence) rather than temporary circumstances (i.e. food shortages) which usually sparked more spontaneous disturbances. One popular contemporary view was that the riots were essentially mindless violence with no real objective beyond cathartic release through trouble-making and destruction. Some outsiders observed how rioters 'played their parts' savouring 'only their own abuses' and endeavouring that 'somewhat they will doe, but what they know not'.[110] This viewpoint has been echoed by some modern scholarship. Steve Rappaport, for example, describes the Elizabethan Shrovetide riots as 'hardly ever organized or purposeful, at least not consciously'.[111] Some evidence certainly backs up this explanation of motive, or lack thereof. When Bristol apprentices were questioned for their riotous gathering in 1670 they famously replied that they were only spoiling for a fight. In London too, rioters often seemed to attack with little purpose, like in 1607 when rogues ranged down Turnmill and Cowcrosse Streets breaking windows in a seemingly indiscriminate manner.[112] But even here there is evidence of conscious expression through targeted violence. When the locations of London riots are mapped out (**Fig. 11**) and compared to the residences of accused rioters (**Fig. 10**), it becomes clear that instigators often travelled far from their homes to participate in riots. Revellers mustered together in the recreational fields surrounding the city before then proceeding to targets in the suburbs where they could destroy property with minimal interference from authorities and minimized risk of being identified. None of these actions were necessarily done in a calm, orderly fashion, but they do support a degree of premeditation and calculated action beyond mindless violence.

In contrast to the 'rebel without a cause' theory, some have seen the riots as products of the 'uproarious voice of the community's conscience' embodied by an adolescent subculture. Deriving from the targeting of brothels, this view is as old as the riots themselves and is supported by a popular literary tradition which praised the virtue of London's young men.[113] Shrove Tuesday's position on the eve of the increased sexual strictures of Lent, the sexual

[110] Chamberlain, 139; Ben Jonson, *Time vindicated to himselfe, and to his honors* (London, 1623), sig. B1v; Taylor, *Iacke a Lent*, sig. B2r.
[111] Rappaport, 11; See also Cook, 228.
[112] *Middlesex County Records*, ii. 25.
[113] *A Ballad in Praise of London Prentices and What They Did at the Cockpit Play-House, in Drury Lane* (1617) in *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades* ed. C. Mackay (1841), 94-7; *The honour of London apprentices* (London, 1647), sig. A4v; See also Smith, 50; Collins, 138-9; Harris, 24.

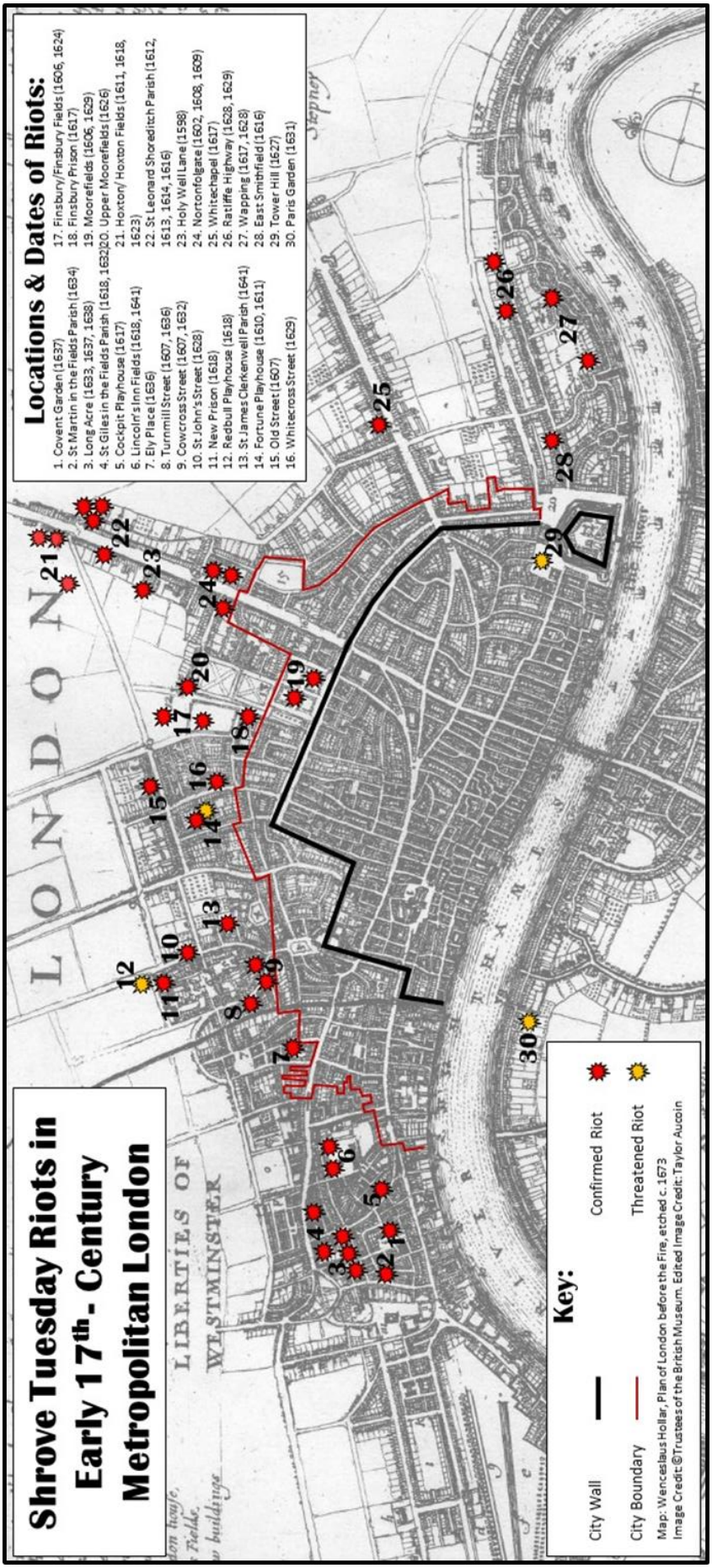


FIGURE 11 Locations of Shrove Tuesday riots in early seventeenth-century London and its suburbs. Credit for Original Map: The British Museum © CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. Credit for Edited Map: Taylor Aucoin under same license.

confusion and frustration inherent in adolescence, and the rigid apprentice indentures forbidding marriage while in service all make this a particularly popular explanation for the riots.[114] However, the idea that rioters were moral agents exacting social justice for the community seems rather optimistic for several reasons. As already shown, rioters were often from a varied background, and even if many of them were united by the frustrations of youth, they would not have all shared the burdens of apprenticeship as a driving motivation. Although bawdy houses were assaulted, records show that a variety of places and people were attacked, and not just those associated with immorality. Targets included not only bawds and players, but brewers, victuallers, vinters, blacksmiths, grocers, chandlers, poor men, gentlemen, prisons and lower magistrates themselves.[115]

Advocates of the ‘social justice’ theory often link older shaming rituals to the riots. François Laroque, for instance, cites the practice of carting prostitutes out of town as a precursor.[116] Charivaris are known to have been Shrove Tuesday events, but they were typically neighbourhood affairs. The riots on the other hand, pulled in participants from throughout the metropolis and it is unlikely that the festive vandalism actively contributed to the social and communal cohesion of the city in a manner comparable to skimmington ridings in a neighbourhood.[117] Although rough music was part of the rioting tradition, any communal justice hypothesis must reckon with a ‘community’ over 200,000 in size before drawing direct lines between the charivari and the Shrovetide riot. Moreover, castigatory rituals like skimmingtons and carting were allowed or even propagated by magistrates; Shrovetide rioting was not.

Paul Seaver has refined this social justice hypothesis, proposing that apprentices were the chief rioters and that they adhered to a ‘moral economy’ of the community partly stemming from the growth of Puritanism in the period. He suggests that the riots occurred because ‘masters and apprentices shared many of the same values’; masters thus looked the other way or even participated in riots that they viewed as beneficial to the community. In a sense, the rioters were licensed to appropriate a ‘regulative authority’ to punish those elements of society deemed

[114] Laroque, 100-101; Smith, 150; Archer, 3; Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun*, 155.
[115] See Appendix D.
[116] Laroque, 100.
[117] M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 105 (1984), 90-94.

corrupt.[118] The appropriation of a 'regulative authority' seems clear enough, but as shall be discussed in more detail below, such Shrovetide appropriations did not always equate with moral policing. Moreover, the idea that this regulative authority was somehow implicitly licensed to Shrovetide rioters as officials and masters looked the other way is contradicted by the condemnation and prohibition of Shrove Tuesday activity across royal, mayoral, ward, and household levels. Some masters may have illicitly allowed their servants to enjoy their customary holiday, but this is not the same as sanctioning or encouraging vandalism and riot. If masters sanctioned or silently acquiesced to riots on petty prisons and attacks on constables, it might imply that the moral economy undermined all structures of authority. Since the masters were a prominent pillar in this structure, this seems unlikely.

Joan Lane and others have alternatively proposed that apprentices were effectively using the riots to rail against those activities which were usually prohibited to them by indentures, ordinances, lack of money and most importantly, lack of time. Apprentices and many other Londoners typically worked from dawn to dusk Monday to Saturday. Leisure time was a rare commodity available only on Sundays and certain festivals; one might imagine the anger generated when city precepts and royal commands prohibited the attendance of plays and interludes by apprentices, journeymen and servants, or attempted to restrict access to the traditional areas of recreation on festivals.[119] While a logically sound theory, it cannot account for the enduring popularity of both theatres and brothels as areas of recreation during the period. There is ample evidence that both types of venue were visited frequently by various elements of the London populace, including poor apprentices and busy craftsmen. It is difficult to reconcile why rioters might visit a brothel on one holiday, and attack it on the next. To paraphrase Charles II on the subject, if the rioters disliked brothels so much, why did they go to them?[120]

Each explanation has its merits and detractors and in practice the motivations driving people to riot upon Shrove Tuesday were no doubt as mixed as the rioters themselves. As Paul Griffiths has argued: 'It is ultimately misleading to reduce layers of meaning to a single source, and catch the motives of governors, apprentices, vagrants, and unpaid sailors in the same

[118] Seaver, 17-39.
[119] Lane, 100-107; Cook, 258; Collins, 137.
[120] The Bridewell Courtbooks contain records of various levels of London society visiting bawdy houses. For example, in March 1626 a bawd was committed who frequently entertained apprentices: BCB 6, fo. 418. Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. (1970-83), ix. 130.

explanatory framework'.[121] It is quite possible that an overly zealous Puritan rioter might stand side by side with fellows out for revenge or simply along for the wild ride. What then can be gleaned from these festive insurrections beyond a confusing multiplicity of motives? The answer would seem to lie in the targets of riots, for as diverse as the Shrovetide crowd was, it did represent a (largely) disenfranchised section of London society annually making use of festive time to directly challenge authority. The next two sections consider these two uniting factors – Shrovetide and contempt for authority – to present a new interpretation of the riots as they pertain to festive misrule and popular politics.

'Against the Image of Authority': Practicing Rebellion and Celebrating Sedition

Shrovetide riots brought participants into belligerent conflict with magistrates and other symbols of authority, often resulting in violence. The words of John Taylor summarise such situations succinctly:

> And which is worse, to the contempt of Iustice: for what auailes it for a Constable with an army of reuerend rusty Bill-men to command peace to these beasts, for they with their pockets in stead of Pistols, well char'd with stone-shot, discharge against the Image of Authority, whole volleyes as thicke as hayle, which robustions repulse puts the better sort to the worser part, making the band of unscowred Halberdiers retyre faster then euer they came on, and shew exceeding discretion in prouing tall men of their heeles.[122]

Much hard evidence supports the satirist's account, ranging from assaults on constables, headboroughs, billmen and watchmen, to attacks on prisons, flagrant displays against sheriffs and mayors, and plots against Parliament. Shrove Tuesday transgression, however, took many forms and was not limited to crowd action. John Noble, haberdasher of Cowcrosse Street was convicted for contention and unruliness in 'grossely abusing his majesties officer' on Shrove Tuesday 1622.[123] London haberdasher John Reynolds likewise assaulted and beat the constable of Tower Liberty during the watch in 1628.[124] When confronted on Shrove Tuesday 1625

[121] Griffiths, 160.
[122] Taylor, *Iack a Lent*, sig. B2r.
[123] LMA: MJ/SR/0606/134, 208.
[124] LMA: MJ/SR/0679/131.

about victualing without a license, John Burrowes abused and threatened the headborough of East Smithfield, saying he would ‘dash his torch into his throate’.[125]

Beyond physical altercations, some people simply refused to help quell the festive insurrections or aided the rioters by other means. Will Tisdale the barber was held accountable for letting the principal agent in the Shrove Tuesday Cowcrosse Street riot of 1632 escape, after being charged by the constable to carry the suspect before the justices.[126] The spinster Lettice Cotton helped free her own apprentice from a constable’s grasp in 1616, while a brewer’s servant similarly rescued a companion in 1635.[127] Edmond Parsons, a baker of St. Katherine's, was heavily fined for refusing to aid the constable in controlling crowds in 1617, while a St. Clement Danes victualler was accused of harbouring fugitive rioters in 1618.[128] Refusals to watch and ward on Shrove Tuesday were also a recurring problem.[129]

More large-scale confrontations usually arose when the crowd appropriated those powers normally reserved to local magistrates to police brothels or playhouses and refused to back down when confronted. Shrove Tuesday insurrections, however, were not clear-cut manifestations of the moral economy and they did not always exhibit the ‘regulative authority’ which historians have found elsewhere in early modern riots. While there can be no doubt that many Shrovetide targets were ‘immoral’, this does not mean that the riots were necessarily ‘castigatory rituals’ and vehicles for moral policing. There are many examples where the targets were ostensibly moral, but the motivations not necessarily so.

The chronicler Edmund Howes clarified that Shrove Tuesday rioters attacked any buildings ‘they *suspected* to bee bawdie houses’. If the victims collected in the dataset are any indication, rioter suspicions were often but a pretence: it mattered not the true status and profession of a building’s inhabitants, only that an assault could be vaguely justified. In 1631 riot instigators continued to send out pamphlets in preparation for a Shrove Tuesday assault on Hollands Leaguer, the famous brothel of Paris Garden, despite the well-known fact that the notorious bawd in question had fled London weeks prior.[130] Similarly, a presentment from the

[125] LMA: MJ/SR/0606/109.
[126] LMA: MJ/SR/0740/115.
[127] LMA: MJ/SR/0547/87; MJ/SB/R/2/279, 283; MJ/SR/0792/80.
[128] LMA: MJ/SR/0558/26, 60; MJ/SR/0559/125; MJ/GB/R/02/117, 118d, 126
[129] For e.g. LMA: WJ/SR/NS/047/207, 208, 209; MJ/SR/0808/401.
[130] *Middlesex County Records*, ii. 25; MJ/SR/0457/58-62, 76-7; *CSPD: Charles I, 1631-3*, 221. In *The abridgement of the English Chronicle, first collected by M. Iohn Stow* (London, 1618), 561. Rioters in 1608 broke into the

Westminster Sessions of 1641 details how a wife of St Martin in the Fields merely told a group of sailors that the plaintiffs’ houses were brothels, and this was enough evidence for them to begin the sack and spoil.[131] Riotous revellers thus often focused on targets that could be construed as ‘legitimate’ in their supposed illegality or immorality to avoid widespread condemnation and obtain a level of power rarely afforded them outside of festive time. As the anonymous writer of a ballad praising the 1617 rioters explained, players and whores were ‘seductive both and gaudy’ and therefore fair-game. The balladeer, however, warned the apprentices to tread carefully and keep their challenge of authority a misdemeanour rather than a felonious capital offense.

> ‘Now hold your hands, my merry men,’
> Said Tom; ‘for I Assure ye,
> Who so begin to steale shall win
> Mee both for judge and jury:
> And eke for executioner,
> Within this lane of Drury;
> But teare and rend, I’ll stand your frend,
> And will uphold your fury’.[132]

Such self-awareness and recognition of the moral economy as a potential legitimizing factor, rather than a sole motivation, can be seen in a Bristol Shrove Tuesday riot of 1685. On the surface, it appears an extreme example of charivari: a mob of apprentices smashed up a brothel, burned it to the ground, and carried the bawd through town upon a coal staff. However, closer examination suggests this act of ‘communal justice’ was a ploy for revenge. The apprentices approached the brothel looking for friendly company, but the bawd, after ‘affronting the boys and not treating them as she had formerly done’, set six mastiff dogs upon them instead, perhaps fearing the festive occasion. The boys responded in anger: the riotous ritual soon unfolded and rapidly escalated. In this way riots could be Shrovetide masks of a different sort, disguising acts of vengeance, but also appropriations of power and contests against authority, even the

houses of victuallers, chandlers and various yeomen; the 1607 mobs likewise destroyed a wide assortment of abodes. If the rioters truly wished to cleanse the suburbs and exact justice, they might have ceased their tumultuous actions when they realised their targets were not, in fact, immoral.

[131] LMA: MJ/SR/0891/2.

[132] *A Ballad in Praise of London Prentices and What They Did at the Cockpit Play-House, in Drury Lane* (1617) in *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades*, ed. C. Mackay (1841), 94-7.

authority of a bawd to deny service.[133] That this temporary expression of control was sometimes the entire purpose behind the riots is suggested by seventeenth-century critic Edmund Gayton. Describing Shrovetide antics at playhouses, he recounts how ‘Saylers, Water-men, Shoomakers, Butchers and Apprentices’ on their day of leisure demanded to see certain performances. If they did not get the play they desired they made ‘nothing but noise and tumult’ until roused in anger they ‘dissolved a house in an instant’ before heading next to the brothels to ‘reforme them’. [134] In this scenario, control was not the means to an end, but the end itself.

On the surface, John Taylor’s contemporary view of Shrove Tuesday rioter intentions does not seem too far off the mark from what we are observing here: ‘somewhat they will doe, but what they know not’.[135] In other words, the outcome, aim or target of a Shrove Tuesday riot, was in many cases less important than the riotous action itself. However, when its status as a festive tradition (i.e. something repeated each year) belonging particularly to a specific demographic of London society is recognized, the Shrove Tuesday riot becomes a more complex and significant phenomenon as played out over the *longue durée*. These riots did not happen once or twice; they happened again and again for forty years. By annually enabling rebellious crowd actions, Shrove Tuesday acted as a day of remembrance, upon which members of the populace rehearsed and sometimes rewrote scripts for riotous crowd action, celebrating sedition and practicing violent resistance. To use a modern analogy, it was like ‘exercising the riot to vote’ – completing the voting action without necessarily marking any legitimate name on the ballot. It may do nothing, but it affirms your right to do so. In other words, one must use it, or they may lose it. But if ‘violent resistance and sedition’ was printed on the script, why was it written there originally? What exactly were crowds remembering, if it was indeed a ‘day of remembrance’? Turning back to the 1590s, the historical context in which Shrove Tuesday rioting originated as a distinct annual tradition, may suggest an answer.

From 1580 to 1600 London experienced a remarkable amount of strain from several external pressures, including war, nation-wide famines, plagues, and massive population increase from

[133] BRO:44954/2/4 (1985); For comparable literary examples see *The bragadocio, or, The bawd turn'd Puritan* (London, 1691), 13: ‘Don't you remember his eldest Prentice?---The same that rally'd so at our door one Sunday Night for entrance, when all our Beds and Couches were in use ---Yes, and swore he wou'd have the House pull'd down the *Shrove-Tuesday* after’; Sir William Davenant, *Madagascar with other poems* (London, 1638); sig. C3r: ‘More cruell than Shrove-Prentices, when they (Drunk in a Brothell House) are bid to pay; Or than the Bawd at Sessions, to that vilde Indicted Rout, which first her house until'de’.
[134] Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant notes upon Don Quixot* (London, 1654), 271-2.
[135] Taylor, *Iacke a Lent,* sig. B2r.

foreign and domestic immigration.[136] These outside pressures naturally resulted in problems within the city. A. L. Beier denotes a huge increase in vagrancy by the end of the century, while Robert Manning writes that between 1581 and 1602 the city had no fewer than 35 outbreaks of crowd disorder.[137] It is estimated that this twenty-year ‘epidemic of disorder’ accounted for more than one-third of all such recorded outbreaks from between 1517 and 1640.

While the severity of the disorders and riots in question, and whether or not the city truly experienced a ‘crisis’ has been debated by historians, it is recognized that the outbreaks of violence within the city proper reached a zenith during the 1590s, and that after 1595, riots (Shrovetide riots making up the majority) occurred predominantly outside the walls in surrounding suburbs.[138] Despite their temporal adjacency, the relationship between the Jacobean Shrovetide riots and the crisis of the 1590s has rarely been considered.[139]

The distinction between types of riot is significant; those of the early 1590s were mostly spontaneously provoked. In other words, people carried out the violence in direct response to a specific event which caused underlying tensions to explode. The most common broad motives for these riots were anti-alien sentiments, economic distress, and distaste for the administration of justice. Manning shows that the latter was a particularly strong motivation in the 13 insurrections and unlawful assemblies that occurred in 1595 alone. Experiencing a wide range of difficulties due to dearth, depression, and war taxes, rioters had little patience for city and crown officials who meted out harsh punishments with increasing frequency. Many of the riots were triggered by arrests and public punishments, as Londoners from sundry backgrounds rallied to free prisoners.[140] While these popular disturbances were often blamed on apprentices in contemporary accounts, the participating crowds were quite diverse in reality and it is possible that a wide range of Londoners either experienced or participated in this ‘culture of riot’.[141]

[136] Manning, 187-89.
[137] Beier, 204; Manning, 187.
[138] Manning, 187, 200-210; Archer, 9-14; Rappaport, 11-15.
[139] Keith Lindley’s analysis of the Shrovetide riots is primarily concerned with Stuart responses to disorder; as such he does not look backwards to Tudor London. Focused as they are on the relative stability of London in the sixteenth century, Steve Rappaport and Ian Archer consider the riots a problem and product of the seventeenth century alone. Manning treats both violent traditions together in a chapter entitled ‘Apprentices’ Riots in London’, but admits that ‘Shrove Tuesday riots do not fit neatly’ into his analytical models based on spontaneous crowd action: Manning, 219.
[140] Manning, 206-210, 218; Archer, 9-14.
[141] Manning, 192.

As Hannah Skoda argues in her treatise on medieval violence, it was 'both a means of spectacular communication and a way of achieving concrete goals: both performing and performative'.[142] In this way riot seems to have become an established method of expression in the mid-1590s for Londoners experiencing hardship. Though the hardships and riots had lessened by the end of the decade, concentrated crowd violence became codified in public memory as a practiced way of articulating protest, discontent and sedition. Some historians firmly contend that the great disturbances of 1595 have been exaggerated in historical discourse; that they were not that significant and quickly 'faded from memory'.[143] However, it is unlikely they would have been completely forgotten by the time Shrovetide riots began cropping up three years later. Although Shrovetide riots occurred in the suburbs and 'the crisis' mostly inside the city walls, our prosopography has shown the holiday rioters came from across the metropolitan area, including London proper. The suburban locations of Shrovetide riots simply reflect the mustering points of recreational fields and the easy targets of red-light districts.[144]

It is likely that the rioters of 1598 and thereafter would have remembered and perhaps even participated in the frequent tumultuous crowd affairs from earlier in the decade. The late Elizabethan and early Jacobean Shrovetide riots did not take place in a vacuum but instead should be seen as a product of their time. As J. C. Scott has argued in his treatise on resistance, crowd action necessitates 'the development of an enabling popular tradition'.[145] Elizabethan Shrovetide rioters, thus, appropriated an established mode of violent performance and paired it with festive time. It developed from a phenomenon into a self-perpetuating festive tradition, preserving in its script a distaste for magistrates. Thus, if early modern rioting was a negotiating tool, then Shrove Tuesday, and festive time more generally, helped keep that tool sharp for the London crowd. But was it being kept sharp for any particular purposes beyond practice and rehearsal, and why was Shrovetide chosen as an appropriate whetstone? This final section attempts to answer these two questions by analysing the efficacy of festive riot and Shrovetide's frame.

[142] H. Skoda, *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 3, 23-27.
[143] Rappaport, 15.
[144] Lindley, 109-110; For example, in the 1602 riot only two of the accused came from the suburban area of the incident, Norton-Folgate. Of the others, 1 came from St. Bridgett's parish, 1 from St. Katherine's near the Tower, and 12 from London: LMA: MJ/SR/0399/16-18, 22, 28, 49; MJ/SR/0400/118,130.
[145] J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), 151.

Festive Time and Riot: Power in Potential

John Taylor wrote that the sound of the pancake bell made ‘thousands of people distracted, and forgetfull either of manner or humanitie’ as ‘Necromanticke Cookes’ prepared feast-day victuals with ‘tragicall magicall inchantments’ which, once devoured, caused revellers to run ‘starke mad, assembling in routs and throngs numberlesse of ungoverned numbers, with uncivill civill commotions’.[146] The Water Poet was not alone in equating the holiday with chaos and the otherworldly, and to this day Carnival remains the quintessential example of bacchanalian excess and cathartic release. But when the pancake bell rang, did a Saturnalian fog descend upon London, causing a wide mixture of the public to rise up in madness – to strain and stretch against the strictures of authority and societal norms? Was there something inherent within Shrovetide and festive time in general that inevitably resulted in riot and revolt? Students of festive culture grappling with this perplexing relationship between festivity and misrule have often turned to conceptual frameworks for their explanations. Mikhail Bakhtin famously approached the subject through the lens of early modern literature, hypothesizing that Carnival was a tool for anti-authoritarian social protest which allowed the populace to subvert the power of elites through tactics of inversion and opposition.[147] Critics have countered that rituals of festive misrule were ultimately conservative forms of social control; elites allowed a temporary suspension of norms and release of energy through subversion, parody and mockery in order to reinforce the status quo in the long-run.

Historians of the Shrovetide riots in particular have often subscribed to the latter theory, categorizing the festive insurrections as ‘ritualized attacks’ of ‘carnivalesque misrule’ which were ultimately licensed by structures of authority.[148] In the last two decades however, as discussed in the Introduction, scholars of premodern festive studies have distanced themselves from this debate, finding the focus on binary power struggles (elite versus popular; control versus protest) and the over-emphasis on inversion (the high made low) ultimately limiting.[149] Paul Griffiths in particular has argued that historians of England have approached concepts of

[146] Taylor, *Iack a Lent*, sig. B1v.
[147] M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, tr. H. Iswolsky, 1st ed. (Bloomington, 1984).
[148] Burke, 201; Manning, 219; Harris, 24; Smith, 150; Rappaport, 11; Laroque, 101.
[149] See for example C. Humphrey, *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2001), 1-11; C. Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, 2007), 208-211; R. Hutton, ‘Seasonal Festivity in Late Medieval England: Some Further Reflections’, *English Historical Review*, 120, 485 (2005), 79; S. Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley, 1994), 150-56; Lin, 215-6; O. Hennessey, ‘A Serious Kind of Laughter: Shakespeare's Grief and Mardi Gras 2006’, *Borrowers and Lenders: the Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2, (Oct 2010), 1-11.

festive misrule and inversion 'rather uncritically' and have 'rarely addressed questions of contextualization and conceptualization'.[150] For the Shrovetide riots at least, the evidence presented thus far does not support bacchanalian ritual violence. A common theme of power struggle does emerge from the narrative, but that theme is multi-layered and not limited to conflict between governors and the governed. What then was the relationship between festive time and violent contests of power? The French historian Yves-Marie Bercé provides a useful starting point for closer analysis in his study of festive revolts on the continent.

Bercé detected two primary relationships between seasonal festivals and rebellious crowd actions.[151] Firstly, the boisterous activities of crowds gathered upon a day free from work could boil over spontaneously into serious upheavals. Festivals brought people together in large assemblies, and sometimes the festive mood spiralled out of control. Alcohol could play a major role. Dekker even claimed that it was drink that made men 'quarrel with the watch' and 'break down Baudy-house windows of mid-night'.[152] Secondly, the festival's 'apparatus', a learned system of customs, could be harnessed as symbolic language to communicate aggression or cohesion within seditious contexts (regardless of if they were in holiday time). There is ample evidence that the 'symbolic language' of Shrovetide customs was consciously used for subversive purposes in this way. After Charles left London in 1642, Parliamentarian propagandists wove the feasting customs of Shrovetide into a threatening and mocking printed satire against the participation of clergy in government. Bristol apprentices cleverly turned the cruel sports of cock-throwing and dog-tossing into riotous political protests, defying the mayor and Republican rule on the eve of the Restoration.[153] The Shrovetide custom of brothel rioting was lifted from its usual context and performed during Easter week 1668, with rioters channelling serious political concerns onto symbolic targets.[154] Thus, Bercé's model certainly illuminates part of the relationship between Shrove Tuesday and its riots. However, was there more to holiday time than the creation of crowds or symbols which might be re-purposed in rebellious contexts? This chapter argues for a third mechanism which often combined the former and the latter with the power of collective memory, reputation, and popular perceptions

[150] Griffiths, 152.
[151] Y. Bercé, *Féte et Révolte. Des mentalitis populaires du xvie au xviit siecle* (Paris, 1976). Bercé's model is utilised to great effect in Thomas Pettitt's article, '"Here Comes I Jack Straw": English Folk Drama and Social Revolt', *Folklore* 95, no. 1 (1984), 3-20.and esp. at 3-4. This chapter's paraphrase of Bercé's framework derives from said article.
[152] Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant notes upon Don Quixot* (London, 1654), 271-2; Thomas Dekker, *A strange horse-race* (London, 1613), sig. C1v-C2r.
[153] *A Shrove-Tvesday banqvet sent to the bishops in the tovver* (London, 1642); BRO:44954/1/5.
[154] *Middlesex County Records: Vol. 4, 1667-88,* ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1892), 6-12; Harris, 82-91.

of freedom and ownership: a recognized potential energy, or social efficacy in festive time for expressions of power and the exacting of change.

Examples of plots and threats provide abundant evidence for conscious, premeditated, uses of festive time to implement agendas and shape environments. Festive insurrections were carefully planned through the dispersal of pamphlets in 1618, 1626, and 1631.[155] In 1648, 'disaffected and discontented persons of the city' plotted to 'take advantage of Shrove Tuesday' to raise tumults and insurrections against Parliament. A group of tailors, meeting multiple times in 1670, crafted a manifesto aimed at inciting Londoners against French artisans on May Day. In 1684, London weavers gathered frequently in a tavern called the Hackney to devise a Shrovetide insurrection, and when they were informed by the barkeep that the trained bands would surely be out upon the day, they replied that they would simply 'meet in the Upper Moorfield and there the Trained Bands had nothing to do'.[156]

Occasionally, people used the threat of festive time as leverage. On Shrove Monday 1610, a drunk and apparently disgruntled reveller promised to muster a mob of five hundred to 'pull down the Fortune playhouse' the next day. Hugh Burros, a saddler from St. Martin-in-the-fields, was indicted in 1617 for 'committing a great disorder in Drury Lane in the night-time with divers others in his company, and threatening to pull down the house of Christopher Wase there on May Day next'. On the Friday before Shrovetide 1627, rioting unpaid sailors vowed that if they did not get satisfaction quickly, they would make 'Shrovetuesday…as mad a one as ever London saw'. Edmund Wilson, one of the apprentices from the Lambeth and Southwark riots of May 1640, warned that if his cohort was unsuccessful in pulling down Archbishop Laud's dwelling in early May, they would wait and 'do it in the Whitsun holidays'. Similarly, many of the bawdy house rioters of Easter week 1668 exclaimed that 'unlesse the King would give them the Libertie of Conscience, May-day should bee a bloody day'.[157] Outside the context of London, anti-enclosure riots in Sutton Marsh 1643 saw villagers commit 'great Waste and Spoil in Corn and other Goods there' while threatening 'to lay all the said Marsh common' unless offending structures were removed from the public land 'before Shrove Tuesday next'.[158] There was obviously a public perception that violent holiday

[155] *APCE Vol. 36, 1618-1619*, 38; *APCE Vol. 40, 1625-1626*, 451; *CSPD: Charles I, 1631-3*, 221.
[156] *CSPD: Charles I, 1648-9*, 14-16; Harris, 26; *CSPD: Charles II, 1683-4*, 261.
[157] BCB 5, fo. 416; LMA: MJ/SR/0557/17; *CSPV: Vol. 20, 1626*-1628, 123; *CSPD: Charles I, 1640*, 174-5; *Middlesex County Records*, iii. 11-2.
[158] *JHL: Volume 5, 1642-1643*, 588-92.

customs could be harnessed for diverse purposes, and this efficacy was not limited to the festival’s symbolic language.

It was one thing to posture and plan, or even to rise up and bear arms, but did holiday rioters ever actually accomplish anything? Proponents of the safety-valve theory often claim that Shrovetide tumults were somehow licensed by authority and ultimately did not result in anything more than reaffirmations of dominant systems of control. Such perceptions are not surprising considering how many contemporary observers claimed that apprentices and the like were ‘licensed to perform acts of violence’ or ‘allowed great liberties’ on certain holidays.[159] However, any ideas that Shrove Tuesday riots were somehow wilfully ignored or even encouraged by figures of authority fall flat in the face of the repeated and varied examples of prevention, prosecution, and condemnation that have thus far been discussed. If the London crowd was annually granted a ‘license for misrule’, it did not come from the crown, lord mayor, or any civic elites.

Claims that festive riots were only ‘traditional rituals of social inversion’ which never effected change should also be reviewed.[160] Certainly, in many cases the riots of Shrovetide and other festive occasions did not present clear, coherent agendas, making their ‘effectiveness’ difficult to assess. But as argued in the last section, a simple expression of power could be an aim in itself, and in the long-run could contribute to the attainment of more complex social or political goals through the transference of festive tradition’s script. There is ample evidence to suggest Shrovetide riot’s potential as a means of influence and resistance was widely recognized and seized upon for myriad purposes, ranging from petty to political. One of the few surviving Middlesex session examinations relating to a Shrove Tuesday riot is particularly illustrative in this regard.

In the wee hours of Ash Wednesday 1637, Charles Romford, an under-bailiff of Westminster, burst into the house of William Cawarden in Long Acre at the head of a crowd which included a tailor, widow, spinster and diverse others. The mob then proceeded to forcibly remove Cawarden and his family from the premises ‘in a violent and barbarous manner’. According to the plaintiff, this was all done at the behest of Thomas Barnes, Cawarden’s landlord, who

[159] *CSPV: Vol. 20, 1626*-1628, 123; *Vol. 30, 1655-56*, 30.
[160] Manning, 218-9; Rappaport, 11.

wished to 'take possession of the house again'.[161] Interestingly, this does not appear to have been a unique manner to achieve such ends, nor the only case of it happening at Shrovetide. In 1618, the cook Robert Lowch was accused of the 'animatinge of a great company of boyes and other unruely persones to pull downe a howse in Lyncons Inne Fieldes, promisinge to give unto them money to effect the same' on Shrove Tuesday.[162] Lowch was a familiar character to the Middlesex justices, for in the year prior he had been ordered to tear down his mud wall erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields.[163] Rather than follow orders he built a house on the site and began leasing the property to Bridget Passemore, a figure who would later be indicted 'for keeping a noted bawdy-house…in Lowche his buildinges'.[164] Thus, when the justices again ordered Lowch to remove the offending structure from the fields, he evidently saw in Shrove Tuesday an opportunity to get the job done. These examples of recalcitrant landlords convey the street-level politics and practicalities which were likely always at play during Shrove Tuesday riots, but which surviving records can only hint at.

Shrove Tuesday riots could also be utilised to redress more large-scale, socio-economic grievances which intersected with political issues of the day. During the naval-crisis of 1626-28, Shrovetide became a bargaining chip which unpaid sailors exploited to their advantage. On 3 February 1627 at Tower Hill, one group of riotous sailors threated to join the apprentices for a Shrove Tuesday insurrection (the holiday looming only three days hence) unless they received their arrears. The tactic was a moderate success, for the 'privy councillors paid them a certain amount of ready money, the balance being given in promises'.[165] For this particular troop of sailors at least, festive riot proved effective. On Shrove Tuesday itself, however, some of the remaining unpaid sailors assembled again on Tower Hill, where they were counselled by John Goodladd, master of the merchant ship *Talbot* on what course they should take:

[161] LMA: WJ/SR/NS/046/4; WJ/SR/NS/047/190.
[162] 'Sessions, 1618: 19 and 20 March', in *County of Middlesex. Calendar To the Sessions Records: New Series, Volume 4, 1616-18*, ed. W. Le Hardy (London, 1941), 349-368. *British History Online*. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-sessions/vol4/pp349-368 [accessed 29 June 2015].
[163] 'Sessions, 1617: 2 and 3 April', in *County of Middlesex. Calendar To the Sessions Records: New Series, Volume 4, 1616-18*, ed. W. Le Hardy (London, 1941), 110-119. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-sessions/vol4/pp110-119 [accessed 9 May 2015].
[164] 'Sessions, 1618: 14 and 15 January', in *County of Middlesex. Calendar To the Sessions Records: New Series, Volume 4, 1616-18*, ed. W. Le Hardy (London, 1941), 305-338. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-sessions/vol4/pp305-338 [accessed 2 May 2018]
[165] *CSPV: Vol. 20, 1626-1628*, 123.

> …Goodladd…did say to these disordered crewe, that they were a company of fooles, and that if they would be ruled by him (if they could not get their wages that day), he would counsell them (some 400 or 500 of them) to come down to the Trynity House and pull it downe, if they would not take a course to relieve and helpe them...[166]

There is no evidence that the sailors took this advice to heart, though Shrovetide rioters had already done considerable damage earlier in the week.

The threat of Shrovetide riot was even put to work effectively in Restoration London, long after it had ceased to be an annual, physical tradition in the city. The weaver apprentices described above, plotting in the Hackney tavern in 1684, were not formulating Shrove Tuesday riots for mere fun. As the contemporary observer of these Shrove Tuesday plotters explained, the London weaving market was in a serious depression brought on by the rise of foreign silk manufacturers in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, and the craftsmen were in dire financial straits:

> '…could any expedient be thought of to prevent the importation of wrought silks or to discourage the wearing of them here, that that people might be kept at work, I think there would be less danger from these parts, for I understand their trade is not only very bad now but they believe there is little probability without his Majesty's assistance of its being better, which causes much discontent among them'.

A letter from the same author, dated to Shrove Monday 1684, provides a satisfying end to the tale, and presents compelling evidence of the intricacies which could exist beneath the veneer of 'rituals of misrule':

> '…heard nothing more about the prentices making a disturbance on Shrove Tuesday, till at the Hackney on Saturday night one of them said they did intend to go to the King, but

[166] LMA: CLC/526/MS30045/002, fo.20r. Abstracted in 'Trinity House of Deptford Transactions, 1609-35,' in *London Record Society 19*, ed. G. G. Harris (London, 1983), 94-5. There is some discrepancy over the dating of this incident. Goodladd was tried at Trinity House in April 1628, implying the incident occurred on Shrove Tuesday earlier that year (1628), but the witness testimonies record a date of Shrove Tuesday 1626 (i.e. Old Style 1627). The editors of the London Record Society transcription note this as a mistake, but since Shrovetide was the occasion of sailors rioting or threatening riot around Tower Hill during 1627 *and* 1628, it is difficult to discern which dating is correct. There is no reason to dismiss out of hand the date given in the testimony, especially since Goodladd was referred to as a repeat offender.

> he had been gracious and sent them money to relieve them so they were satisfied, and nothing more was said…'[167]

Holiday crowd disturbances could mask more serious aspirations, and even the threatening reputation of a seasonal festival alone could prompt negotiations and produce real results.

Most famously indicative of the potential for festive riot to spark real change were the festive disturbances of 1641-42, and especially the Christmas riots of 1641. The latter represented an alliance between the sentiments of Parliament and the diverse London crowd. Tapping into the potential of holiday time, 'rude assemblies and multitudes of the baser sort' railed furiously against unpopular officials appointed by the crown, barring prelates from participating in pivotal government sessions. Within a few days Charles had lost all control of the city and was forced to flee the capital, just a few days after Twelfth Night, the Feast of Kings. A contemporary letter to Sir John Penington summarised the chaotic situation with dry wit: 'I cannot say that we have had a merry Christmas, but the maddest one that ever I saw'.[168]Although some historians have downplayed the significance of festive time to the 'December days', these disturbances cannot be disassociated from their festive, cyclical context any more than they can be removed from their historical, linear context.[169] Contemporaries certainly did not try to do so.

Nor should it be forgotten that parts of the London crowd had been effectively rehearsing this moment every year for forty years. Although the regular day of practice had been Shrove Tuesday, the same rioting language was at play, transferred to Christmas just as the bawdy-house riots of 1668 were transferred to Easter. During the Twelve Days in question, one mob attempted to break into Westminster Abbey 'to pull downe the organs and altar'.[170] The episode exhibited the same focus of violent energy onto architectural structures symbolic of perceived 'gaudy' immorality, so characteristic of Shrovetide assaults. Suggestive of this connection, two months later a news pamphlet related how apprentices with Puritan sympathies

[167] *CSPD: Charles II, 1683-4*, 261, 269.
[168] *CSPD: Charles I, 1641-3*, 217.
[169] According to Lindley, 111: 'The 'December days' of 1641 did witness exceptional disorder but this had very different origins and direction than the violence associated with traditional festivals'.
[170] J. F. Merritt, *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013), 40.

threatened to attack Norwich cathedral on Shrove Tuesday, when they 'would have pulled down their organs'.[171]

The above examples display the potential political power festive tradition could convey to historical actors. Yet understanding that yearly enactments of festive practices *constituted* such festive traditions puts the expressive, ritualistic attacks on brothels and theatres in new light. As has already been argued, the targeting of such symbolically immoral spaces, paired with the resultant clashes against magistrates, acted primarily as temporary claims of power for disenfranchised artisans and servants. Acts of hypothetical moral policing may have had just as much to do with the society's inequality as they did with the society's moral economy. The latter supplied rioters with legitimate targets with which to practice rebellion or rehearse sedition, and a template to follow when trying to achieve more concerted aims. As Michael Braddick and John Walter argue, rioters may have been able to 'exploit the liminality granted them within the festive culture's calendar to exercise agency, turning their association with disorder and absence of reason into an excuse for their actions'.[172]

Within the confines of the safety-valve model this temporary seizure of power might seem to support the argument that outbursts of misrule ultimately shored up repressive structures, releasing pent-up energy and frustration through designated outlets. But this highlights why the model is sometimes unsatisfying and limited. As a theory, it is predicated on the very nature of festival – it thus cannot be disproven because a holiday and its customs must always be momentary; revellers must return to day-to-day life or the revelry loses its significance. The safety-valve theory, then, can only be contested through examples where festive protests prompted *systemic* changes; where they helped alter the very nature of society. This leaves little room for more nuanced definitions of protest, where the immediate aim might be to express opinion or grab attention rather than to provoke immediate dramatic change. To draw on a modern example, a participant in the 2011 London riots, when asked if crowd violence actually accomplished any objectives, answered 'Yes, because if we weren't rioting, you wouldn't be talking to us'.[173] Four hundred years earlier, festive riot may have similarly given the lower orders of London society a platform to speak – a chance to feel powerful and pursue

[171] *True nevves from Norvvich*, (London. 1642).
[172] M. J. Braddick and J. Walter, 'Introduction' in M. J. Braddick and J. Walter (eds.), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 252.
[173] R. Seymour, D. Howe, and A. Goodman, 'Over 1,000 Arrested in U.K. as Anger over Inequality, Racism Boils Over into 'Insurrection'', *Democracy Now*, (10 August 2011).

diverse agendas of their own. In the process of pursuing these individual or collective agendas and preserving a festive right, one of the London crowd’s most effective negotiating tools was kept sharp and ready. For Londoners, a thin, unwavering red line connected the politically charged insurrections of the 1590s to those of the 1640s. That line was the Shrovetide riot.

The creation and manipulation of a legitimising tradition of rioting over time seems clear, but what made people decide Shrovetide was an ideal receptacle for depositing and withdrawing this potential energy? What was it about this particular performative frame that made it so ideal for riotous work? The preceding chapters of this thesis have done the heavy lifting in this regard. Beyond subversion or inversion, which could be found throughout the festive year, Shrove Tuesday was the worker’s holiday, the shoemaker’s holiday, the warrior’s holiday and the bride’s. Through centuries of festive practice it had come to symbolise militancy, sexuality, entertainment, and the penitential preparation to leave all those things behind on Ash Wednesday morn. Even more importantly, it was a time for commonalities to experience privilege and freedom. None felt more entitled to this than artisans, servants and the young, for they had been receiving gifts of food, entertainment, money and free-time on this occasion for time immemorial. It is no coincidence that this core group forms the bulk of the Shrovetide rioter prosopography, and in this sense, the thin red line identified above can be traced back much further, to the Shrovetide drinkings offered to London-Bridge labourers in the fifteenth century, or the pancakes offered to the *famuli* of Beaulieu Abbey in the thirteenth.[174]

Over the centuries, beneficiaries of Shrovetide privilege, whether in thirteenth-century Sussex, or sixteenth-century Chester, defended the same as a customary right, and indeed as something symbolic of their common rights. Thus, by the seventeenth century, the London commonality had few doubts that Shrovetide festivity was not something given, but something owed. Contemporary writers commented that on the day ‘Apprentizes and others use to take libertie to themselves’, while according to Ben Jonson, Shrovetide crowds would ‘compell the time to serve their riot’.[175] Within the context of late sixteenth-century London, Shrovetide’s traditional themes of love, war and work fused together, as crowd actions became normalised in the city, and the commons’ traditional Shrovetide privileges came under threat. Built into Shrovetide was the capacity to defend those privileges, violently if need be, and also to

[174] For more on these examples see Chapter 1.
[175] *APCE Vol. 46, 1630-1631*, 208; Ben Jonson, *Time vindicated*, sig. B1v.

appropriate them towards other ends. Early Stuart Londoners, and at times other urban commonalities in England, did both the former and the latter, often despite official’s best efforts to stop them.

Conclusions

Shrovetide rioting developed as a distinct festive custom in London at the end of the sixteenth century, emerged as a powerful popular tradition in the first half of the seventeenth century, and persisted as a festive observance until the end of the Stuart Age. Despite preventive measures put in place by the lord mayor and aldermen of London, the crown, and Parliament, and carried out by masters, the watch and trained bands, Shrovetide rioters continued to adapt the destructive tradition to multifarious purposes over the course of the century. During the Caroline period, Shrovetide insurrections spread, probably thanks to reputation and printed media, from London to towns and cities throughout the kingdom. The endemic nature of the tumultuous customs reflects the Stuart governments’ oft-acknowledged relative inability to prevent and deal with crowd disorders, as well as the capacity of riotous traditions to form and build upon themselves.

As a distinct custom, the riots emerged at the end of the 1590s, likely developing from the popular precedent for crowd violence cultivated during that tempestuous decade, combined with the penitence, bellicosity and servile liberty associated with Shrovetide. The custom became an annual event in Jacobean London, where the riots often combined moral policing with real attempts to seize a sense of agency normally denied to most elements of society, sometimes for specific purposes. Within the context of the Caroline period, the reputation of Shrovetide, earned in the previous decades, was often used in violent protests where the mask of ritual covered more coherent social and political agendas. During the decades of the Civil War, Interregnum, and Restoration, these political undertones became even more pronounced, even as threat and reputation gradually began to replace physical riots.

Throughout these contexts, various people appropriated Shrove Tuesday rioting, including men and women, servants, apprentices, craftsmen, yeomen, sailors, and vagrants. This diversity undermines the traditionally held view that the riots were ancient rites of social justice ‘played’ by apprentices or youth groups. The riots rarely displayed stereotypical bacchanalian characteristics of mindless violence and cannot be assigned a standing definition of social

function. As a particularly fertile ground for popular disturbances which challenged systems of power, Shrovetide not only affected the policies of the crown and Parliament, but also provided a field of open access, which people ranging from apprentices to agitators like John Lilburne used to challenge, reify or reshape the social environment around them. Even in seemingly ritualised violence without coherent contextualized aims, Shrovetide rioting maintained a collectively held common right to seditious action, while also contributing to a fearsome reputation for the holiday. The latter two could be mobilized for the purposes of ‘street-level’ politics and personal agendas, as well as larger-scale political activism. The Shrovetide riots display the complexity of festive misrule and its significance to social change, while also encouraging approaches to the subject which move beyond ideas of inversion, licensed disorder and safety-valves to consider the dynamic relationships between human agency and festive tradition.

CONCLUSION

TIME OF PLAY & PURPOSE

This thesis has explored medieval and early modern British festive culture through the lens of Shrovetide, one of the island’s most significant yet understudied seasonal festivals. It presents a new social and cultural history of the subject, filling lacunae in the scholarship of British festive studies and international Carnival studies, but also offering a conceptual treatise on festive culture and its significance in medieval and early modern societies. In the latter capacity, it has shown festivity not as something static and acted upon, but as something dynamic and acted through – a mediating tool or contested playing-field for social change that was recognized as such and adapted to purpose. The thesis argues that this ‘active use’ was at the heart of historical change or stasis in Shrovetide traditions and indeed affected other surrounding social structures. It has attempted to show the push and pull between the latter two: the relationship between the historically contextualized agency in Shrovetide customary actions, and the longer-term influences of festive tradition and other structural forces. Potential for influence arose at the meeting of the latter two: past festive practice gave present festive practice cumulative meaning and therefore value, making it something potentially useful; when deployed for contextualized aims it could change the present social environment as well as future festive practice. In this way, the thesis not only shows the impact of festive culture and specifically Shrovetide *upon* premodern social values, identities, movements, political events and everyday life, but also its ability to allow interface *between* these diverse historical processes and norms.

To accomplish the above, the thesis has deployed a processual approach, merging concepts from practice and performance theories to dissect Shrovetide’s social efficacy: to determine the process by which Carnival time developed an ability (in the hands of historical agents) to effect change through social, symbolic or physical means. It argues that understanding the latter process is crucial, for it can bridge the gap between agency and structure, illuminating how agents’ collective actions added up to create structural dispositions of *how* to act, in turn providing (suggestive) templates for future action. For Shrovetide, this heuristic tool has helped suggest how apparently nonsensical festive customs made sense in their time, why they were changed, discarded, or continued (even when they ceased to fully make sense), and how they could be harnessed to impact the social world. Within the conceptual approach this thesis has developed, the ‘performative frame’ has emerged as paramount to effective analysis of practice. By focusing so singularly on Shrovetide, the thesis has shown how a festive action was different from a quotidian action, how a Shrovetide action was different from a (for e.g.) Christmas action, and how such differentiation partly gave practices the ability to impact society, often through the frame’s epitomization of certain concepts, actions and attitudes.

Although informed by theory, the conceptual approach of this thesis has been grounded in empirical methodology. It has used a wide array of primary sources, including previously unexplored archival materials, to chart the long-term histories, or traditions, of Shrovetide activities. Organized into datasets, this material has been subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The thesis has thus tried to combine social and cultural history approaches, reconciling the two to reach the most fully realized conclusions. In summary, it makes significant contributions in its advancement of the empirical knowledge of Shrovetide and premodern festivity, the creation of a novel and useful conceptual approach, and the pairing of the former and latter to suggest broader implications to myriad fields within medieval and early modern British studies. The remainder of this conclusion briefly expounds on these contributions and the potential for future work.

Shrovetide endured throughout the medieval and early modern periods as an elaborate and varied popular festival in Britain, chiefly characterized by feasting, sports and general revelry. Yet despite the festival’s lasting spirit of excess and celebration, this thesis has shown individual Shrovetide customs were not necessarily static in form, meaning or usage. Exploring continuity and change within the festival’s traditions, the preceding chapters have found signs

of both, investigating possible causes as embedded within shifting historical contexts and more permanent seasonal and social pressures.

Shrovetide feasting and gift-giving to workers, servants and children (Chapter 1) occurred in rural and urban southern England and Wales from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Its continuity was rooted in hospitality, charity, the advantages these festive practices gave to masters through good household management, and the customary privilege acquired and guarded by those of lower rank. Likewise, Shrovetide football (Chapter 2) remained both a popular game, and a subject of contested social value throughout the same period. However, the latter longstanding ideological conflict over recreation generated considerable historical change on local levels, as various civic institutions supported, adapted or prohibited the game throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Generally, banning of Shrovetide football extended from concerns with disorder, injury, property damage and unthrifty use of time, while support derived from the sport’s propagation of manliness, courage, social control, status and collective identities. In the more defined context of royal courts (Chapter 3), fluctuations in Shrovetide tradition were even more apparent. Shrovetide entertainment and feasting remained an evident fixture of elite households from the thirteenth century forward, but around the turn of the sixteenth century entertainments became more mimetic and spectacular. Shrovetide spectacle rose in stature as English and Scottish courts adapted to humanist continental trends and individual monarchs adopted the festival as an emblem of their particular princely image – a process which continued into the Stuart period. Shrovetide rioting was likewise not a constant (Chapter 4), developing as a sustained tradition at the turn of the seventeenth century in London, and occasionally arising in other urban areas of England in the same century. In the capital, the bellicose and penitential spirit of the festival and the ancient privileges it gave those of artisanal and servile rank fused within the fires of the riotous 1590s to produce the rioting tradition. The latter demographic sustained the festive custom throughout the Stuart period as a violent tool put towards social and political ends.

These findings expand upon previous Shrovetide scholarship empirically, while offering some modifications to the historiography. Carnival customs were and remain generally secular, but scholars of continental Carnival have often emphasized the effects of the Reformation upon official support and popular practice. Historians of Britain have approached festive culture from similar perspectives. This has not been the methodology or concern of this thesis, which has instead emphasized mapping the *longue durée* of tradition first, then identifying change,

and then querying reasons for it, rather than looking for change where one thinks it was likely to have arisen. Results have shown little direct religious influence upon Shrovetide tradition, before or after the Reformation. For example, major changes to Shrovetide revels at the royal court predated the Reformation and appear more rooted in humanist rather than religious reform. Likewise, reforms and bans of Shrovetide football were already taking place in England and Scotland before the respective religious reformations, based on longer-standing concerns over disorder and the social value of sport. To be sure, Shrovetide customs were not simply irreligious, and indeed the secular-sacred dichotomy is an unhelpful anachronism for this period. Chapter 1 has shown, for example, the spiritual, charitable basis for Shrovetide giving to servants, while Chapter 2 has shown Christian ideas of love, duty and marriage embedded in some Shrovetide football customs. However, Shrovetide was never an official church festival, and its customs thus rarely depended on church support.

Religious reform did influence Shrovetide indirectly. In the long-run it contributed to the gradual decay of the Lenten ban on pleasures, the source of so much of Carnival’s character. It also moderated some ideologies underlying Shrovetide practices. For example, Shrovetide riots were not necessarily products of Puritan zeal, but the latter certainly added fervour to the pre-existing moral economy at work in the insurrections. Likewise, the concern over Shrovetide football’s social value may have been pre-Reformation, but Puritanism and Presbyterianism often tipped the scales against official support, especially in Scotland. Nonetheless, most Shrovetide celebrations were popular and informal, and official prohibitions usually failed to curb them before the eighteenth century.

Traditionally, scholars have cast Britain as a region lacking the public street festivity of pre-Lenten Carnival. This thesis has not devoted much space to overtly arguing against what is essentially an assertion based on general assumptions, equation of Carnival with particular festive forms, and imbalance in available comparative evidence for Britain. Instead, it has attempted to rectify that imbalance in evidence, in the process showing the latter assertion to be largely baseless. If Carnival is public street festivity, then what is Shrovetide cock-throwing in the streets, riding about in victory after cock-fighting matches, football in the lanes, official ball-game processions on horse-back to drums, riotous mobs marching under banners to rough music, elite tournaments and jousts in towns? If Carnival is mimetic performance, then what of Shrovetide drama at Tudor and Stuart royal courts and playhouses, *Mankind* in fifteenth-century East Anglia, and a *carnisprivii* clerk-play in fourteenth-century London? If Carnival is

subversive and inversive, then what is more so than forty consecutive years of Shrove Tuesday apprentices and craftsmen rioting against buildings and magistrates? If Carnival must have an extended season, then what were the weddings, football games and christenings which took place frequently throughout January and February? In short, Britain had its Carnival, and one does not need to search elsewhere in the festive calendar for it; it was called Shrovetide. It differed from continental Carnival practices in some ways, namely its emphasis on sport over mimetic performance, and its general lack of a public masking tradition. But these were forms, and not limited to Carnival in any case. As this thesis has tried to show, Carnival was a time, and its power lay in the pairing of themes and symbols with festive practices within this temporal frame.

Peter Burke once summarised the main themes of Carnival as ‘food, sex, and violence’.[1] For British Shrovetide at least, this could be refined to ‘love, war, and work, on a foundation of food’. Shrovetide was not just a time of licentiousness and illicit sex. It effectively epitomised marriage – its dutiful love which made a household and erotic love which begat children. Between Carnival’s lustful temptation, and Lent’s ascetic chastity, Shrove Tuesday’s chaste marriage-bed offered legitimate reconciliation. Shrovetide’s weddings, masques, football marriage dues, gifts to children, and emphasis on the household all illustrate this strong connection. The violence of Shrovetide was also rarely random and bacchanalian. It was goal-oriented and militaristic, involving contests between two equal parties, or the subjugation of a weak party by a strong one. The festival was the great calendrical emblem of warrior culture, expressed through cock-fighting, football, tournaments, and armed rioters marching under banner. Although all such Shrovetide customs were playful, they also shared close quarters with ‘work’. Shrovetide revellers received half-holidays or pursued fun in the evenings; unlike in the extended holidays of Christmas and Easter, work was never far from play during Shrovetide, and this may partly account for the festival’s cathartic reputation. It may also explain why Shrove Tuesday became the worker’s holiday, when apprentices received the day off, artisanal guilds held gatherings, craftsmen played football matches, and servants were rewarded. In the background of these activities murmured the incessant din of Shrovetide feasting and drinking. Before the Lenten fast began, remaining stocks of meat and dairy were consumed, and the ubiquity of food was such that each aforementioned theme could be symbolised by it. Shrove Tuesday cock-broth gave a husband potency, but it also conferred the

[1] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978, rev. repr.; Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 270.

warlike courage of the game-cock. Shrove Tuesday pancakes, pork and beef flowed to workers and servants as food-gifts, celebrating their collective identities and affirming their privileges on the day.

Careful study of the themes and actions which Shrovetide epitomised has given this thesis the basis to discern agency within festive tradition, suggesting the social, symbolic or pyscho-physical power of Shrovetide, and therefore the advantage of introducing, enacting, or remoulding Shrovetide customs within certain contexts. Henry VIII, for example, reintroduced annual Shrovetide tournaments to his court in the 1510s and 1520s, after over a century’s absence in England. The king could have chosen any occasion to joust personally, but for about ten years he invested money and energy in Shrovetide again and again. A deep understanding of Shrovetide reveals it had symbolic efficacy to the warrior’s ethos in England and was internationally regarded as the quintessential seasonal occasion for tournaments. Not only this, Carnival time held social, symbolic and perhaps even psycho-physical power to convey sexual potency and virility. Henry VIII was concerned with presenting himself as a successful, virile, potent warrior king at the centre of a cosmopolitan court at this period, so it is not difficult to see the allure of the Shrovetide tournament – its efficacy to the king’s image. Regardless, when the custom was picked up repeatedly over the next century by courtiers and princes interested in cultivating chivalric personas, they were inheriting a script with Henry VIII’s mark upon it – his agency embedded in tradition.

The thesis has also shown, however, that scripts allowed scope for improvisation. In 1564, for example, Mary Queen of Scots used the symbolism of a Shrovetide wedding masque to send a political message to the English court regarding her position on marriage. She thus made the dispositions of festive tradition work for her particular aim. Likewise, gifts of food, money and time endured over the centuries as expected privileges to servants and workers at Shrovetide in rural and urban contexts, including London. Each repetition of this custom affirmed status, group solidarity, and privilege, and on the partial basis of these the Shrovetide riots developed. This novel tradition of sedition built upon the efficacy of pre-existing traditions and in turn was improvised to pursue vendettas, protest injustice and generally express power in myriad ways.

The scholarly significance of this approach is not to reveal that individual actions make up structure; this is of course understood. Nor is it simply to point out complexity or sophistication. It instead aims to *recontextualize* premodern festive culture and put it in the active voice, to

draw attention to it as a practical medium like print, pulpit, prayer or magic: something past peoples accessed to shape their environments and lives, and something that therefore had a system that made it effective. As argued in the Introduction, this *has not* been the traditional scholarly approach or perspective on the subject. Generally, latter approaches have examined festive culture on the level of social structures, studying the latticework as a whole. What function did a certain festival carry out for a society, institution, or social group? What does a festival preserve about a society’s *mentalities* and values, constituted in the festive actions? In contrast, this thesis has tried to discern how individuals and their social relations interacted with and constituted social structures, studying how the individual lines and nodes made up the latticework. To illustrate the difference using the old metaphors of functionalism or the linguistic turn: festival was not so much an organ of the body as a hand – the primary function of it being dexterity (i.e. multifarious function). It was also less a geologic formation, stratigraphically capturing and preserving the norms of society, than a termite mound – solid on the surface but *teeming* underneath as it was constantly made or remade.

By showing how past peoples actively made themselves and their social environments through goal-oriented festivity, this thesis has made broader contributions and opened up areas for potential future work in cultural, social, political and economic history, including history subfields on food, sport, urbanity, theatre, court studies and popular politics. One way it has done so is through the examination of ideologies or systems of thought at work behind and through Shrovetide customs, each of which could and should be studied further outside the frame of Shrovetide. For example, Chapter 1 highlighted the relationship between food and social status, and how food actively made collective identities and mediated social relations. Chapter 2 likewise showed how ideas around the social value of recreation were rooted in social status and group identity. Chapter 3 demonstrated the importance of occasion in the deployment of princely spectacle, and how ideas of occasion shifted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chapter 4 showed that the ‘idea’ of festive misrule was something readily grasped by early modern urban commonalities, so that it could be consciously used through threat or actual violence to intervene in diverse power relations not limited to conflict between governors and governed.

The thesis has also contributed significant work on how medieval and early modern collective identities, including gender, status, profession and age, were formed and maintained through cultural expression. Not only this, it has shown how identity could enable social, political and

even economic intervention. For example, Henry VIII’s expression of masculinity and knighthood in Shrovetide tournaments and drama helped constitute an image central to his political platform. As an expression of servile/worker identity, Shrovetide gave London apprentices and craftsmen leverage to riot, and through this temporarily tip scales of power against bawds, constables and sometimes kings. In diverse communities, Shrovetide football preserved into the early modern period a pre-capitalist system equating social value with economic profit, with civic freemen holding the privilege/responsibility of providing it. The sport in this way allowed merchants or mayors to advantageously position themselves as mediators of the common profit and the free status with which it equated through sponsorship of the custom.

Beyond argument, the thesis has demonstrated the potential gains to be had in festive studies and cultural history from further work in the archives and with quantitative datasets. For example, manorial accounts, as those examined in Chapter 1, could provide the basis for a systematic regional analysis of certain festive customs in fourteenth-century England. Well-trod territory for economic historians, but less so for cultural ones, such efforts could expand our knowledge of cultural practice and festivity in the medieval period, for they predate the churchwarden accounts which have told us so much about the same in the fifteenth century. Archival guild records also hold potential to expand our knowledge of civic pageantry and ceremony in the medieval and early modern periods. While *Records of Early English Drama* continues to collect important data on the latter subject, as a general rule it does not record references to sport. Chapter 2 has shown that finding the latter in guild and corporate manuscripts can often point to sponsorship, ceremony and pageantry. More still, sport is worthy of serious systematic study in itself as a subject of sponsorship and prohibition. The archival work behind Chapter 4 has likewise shown judicial records like the Middlesex Sessions to be full of references to festive culture. Organizing data such as this, and the English court revels, into quantifiable databases has borne fruit in identification of social and cultural patterns and changes over time.

This thesis has used fresh archival work and online full-text searching to assemble small pieces of information related to Shrovetide into a greater whole: pointillism for the sake of a clearer picture. Such a methodology is essential for understanding cultural practices rarely recorded in detail during the early modern period, and more rarely still during the medieval. As the Digital Revolution continues apace, manuscripts move online, and even get subjected to full-text

search, the effectiveness and potential of the methodology outlined here will only expand. Perhaps then, it is time for a return to what once were the hallmarks of popular culture as a field but have recently been in decline: dedicated studies of specific cultural forms and practices. As this thesis has shown, studying a single performative frame can reveal its specific social efficacy and therefore significance to historical processes – its potential usefulness to past peoples to influence their worlds and lives at the point when structure met agency, disposition met practice, and tradition met customary act.

When the pancake bell rang, people acted differently, but rarely at random. They inherited a script for their actions, and people *knew* that script. Often, they knew it by heart. This left room for improvisation, and sometimes the script came down the next year with new annotations. Improvisation was rarely random either, but usually embedded in a person’s circumstances and aimed at something, from *joie de vivre* to revolution. Play had purpose. It was a product of its environment but also produced change in that environment. However small that change, all of it mattered and all of it left an indelible mark on the inheritable script. With that script in hand, a Scottish laird could take a castle by stealth; a Sussex knight could exercise his right to hunt; a Welsh ploughman could claim rare privilege of extra meat; London craftsmen could pursue vendetta under cover of football play; a Chester mayor could claim symbolic ownership of the civic commonwealth through sport; a king could present himself as a virile warrior at tournament; a queen could orchestrate favour and secure networks in a court wedding; a Westminster landlord could riotously evict his unwanted tenant; and suburban revolutionaries could foment insurrection against Parliament. All on a Shrove Tuesday.

APPENDIX A

Survey of Shrovetide Gift-Giving in Medieval England and Wales

This appendix holds the empirical data behind the tables, maps and arguments of Chapter 1. It shows the basis and result of a preliminary survey of late medieval England and parts of Wales for evidence of Shrovetide gift-giving, primarily on an institutional basis. The survey was made in two phases. The first took a systematic regional sample of late thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century manorial accounts held in TNA and looked for any signs of seasonal gifts from lords to workers or tenants. Eighty-eight manors were examined, and the results are presented in **Table A.1** and mapped in **Figure 1** of Chapter 1. Phase two combined these archival results with a wider survey of published materials and record-types, focusing exclusively on Shrovetide giving. **Table A.2** presents these results and their sources, forming the basis of **Figures 2** and **3** in Chapter 1.

Abbreviations for **Table A.2**:

Givers have been categorized as lay (L), monastic (M), with further modifiers including royal, elite, college (Coll.), school, hospital (Hosp.) civic, Benedictines (Ben.), Augustinian canons (Aug.), and Cistercians (Cist.).

Table A.1 List of Manors and Cutumals Surveyed in The National Archives, Kew

Manorial Account Range Sampled	Manor	Coverage of Sources	County	Festive Gifts?
SC6/1119/3	HONOUR OF GLOUCESTER (MANOR), ministers accounts	1332-1334	Bedfordshire	
SC6/741/11	SHILLINGTON (RAMSEY ABBEY) MANOR, reeve's accounts (Pekesden), with other manors	1311-1313	Bedfordshire	
SC6/740/11-16 (12)	CRANFIELD MANOR, reeve's accounts, with Barton	1316-1352	Bedfordshire	Yes
SC6/740/1-2 (2)	BARTON MANOR, reeve's accounts, with Cranfield	1319-1325	Bedfordshire	Yes
SC6/748/17-28 (28)	HAMSTEAD MARSHALL MANOR, reeve's accounts	1273-1302	Berkshire	
SC6/743/4	COLESHILL MANOR, reeve's accounts	1316-1318	Berkshire	
SC6/756/5-11 (6)	WOOLSTONE MANOR, bailiff and reeve's accounts	1332-1345	Berkshire	
SC6/749/2-6 (2)	EASTHAMPSTEAD (CROWN) MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1350-1362	Berkshire	
SC6/748/1-3 (2)	CROOKHAM MANOR, reeve's accounts	1322-1326	Berkshire	
SC6/764/14	WRAYSBURY MANOR, reeve's accounts	1321-1323	Buckinghamshire	Yes
SC6/759/23-26 (23) (24-26)	STONORS MANOR, bailiff and reeve's accounts	1333-1351	Buckinghamshire	Yes
SC6/759/1-2 (Both)	ADDINGTON MANOR, reeve's accounts	1341-1344	Buckinghamshire	
SC6/759/20	BEAMOND MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1335-1336	Buckinghamshire	
SC6/763/17-22 (17) (20)	WESTCOTT MANOR, reeve and bailiff's accounts	1307-1342	Buckinghamshire	
SC 6/768/5-23 (22)	KENNETT MANOR, reeve's accounts (19)	1269-1305	Cambridgeshire	
SC 6/1132/14-15 (15), SC 6/1134/1-9, SC 6/1135/1-6	BURY MANOR, bailiffs' and reeves' accounts (23)	1319-1484	Cambridgeshire	
SC 6/767/11-28 (12)	GRAVELEY MANOR, reeve's and bailiffs' accounts (18)	1303-1459	Cambridgeshire	Yes
SC 6/765/17-20 (20)	CHATTERIS RAMSEY MANOR, reeve's accounts (4)	1294-1317	Cambridgeshire	Yes
SC 6/765/10	Burewell/Borewell Manor	Unknown	Cambridgeshire	Yes
SC 6/766/25-36 (27), SC 6/769/1-28	Elsworth KNAPWELL MANOR, reeve's accounts (40)	1297-1482	Cambridgeshire	Yes

Manorial Account Range Sampled	Manor	Coverage of Sources	County	Festive Gifts?
SC 6/824/24	INGLEWOOD FOREST MANOR, ministers' accounts	1337-1339	Cumberland	
SC 6/824/32	CASTLE SOWERBY MANOR, keeper's accounts	1331-1332	Cumberland	
SC 6/824/3	BOLTON MANOR, reeves' accounts	1334-1335	Cumberland	
SC 6/824/19	EGREMONT BARONY (MANOR), ministers' accounts	1322-1324	Cumberland	
DL 29/1/1	DINORBEN FAWR MANOR, ministers' accounts	1294-1296	Denbighshire	
DL 29/1/2	UWCH DULAS MANOR, ministers' accounts	1301-1305	Denbighshire	
SC 6/825/10	ILKESTON MANOR, reeve's accounts	1327-1377	Derbyshire	
SC 6/825/9	ILKESTON MANOR, reeve's accounts	1324-1326	Derbyshire	
DL 29/367/6125	BELPER MANOR, reeve's accounts	1326-1328	Derbyshire	
DL 29/367/6123	DUFFIELD MANOR, reeve's accounts	1328-1330	Derbyshire	
SC 6/828/3	KENN MANOR, account	1295-1297	Devon	
SC 6/834/23	WYKE REGIS MANOR, reeve's accounts (7)	1320-1321	Dorset	
SC 6/832/2-832/3	CRANBORNE MANOR, reeve's accounts (2)	1323-1325	Dorset	
SC 6/832/26-832/28	PORTLAND MANOR, bailiff's account	1320-1324	Dorset	
SC 6/834/24	WYKE REGIS MANOR, bailiff's accounts (2)	1322-1323	Dorset	
SC 6/833/4	STEEPLE MANOR, reeve's accounts	1322-1327	Dorset	
SC 6/833/16	TARRANT GUNVILLE MANOR, reeve's accounts	1319-1322	Dorset	
SC 6/834/22	WYKE REGIS MANOR, reeve's account	1294-1294	Dorset	
SC 6/841/6 - SC 6/841/8 (6)	FEERING MANOR, reeve's accounts	1332-1342	Essex	Yes
SC 6/838/4 - SC 6/838/13 (7)	CLARET HALL MANOR, reeve's accounts	1318-1321	Essex	
SC 6/850/12-13 (13)	BERKELEY MANOR, under bailiff and reeves' accounts	1304-1306	Gloucestershire	Yes
SC 6/856/17-18	MINCHINHAMPTON MANOR, reeves' accounts	1310-1317	Gloucestershire	Yes
SC 6/859/21-29 (28)	TIDENHAM MANOR, reeves' accounts	1288-1304	Gloucestershire	
SC 6/854/10-11 (11)	HAWKESBURY MANOR, reeves' accounts	1329-1332	Gloucestershire	

Manorial Account Range Sampled	Manor	Coverage of Sources	County	Festive Gifts?
SC 6/855/3	HORSLEY MANOR, reeves' accounts	1331-1333	Gloucestershire	Yes
SC 6/979/7-8	ODIHAM MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1324-1327	Hampshire	Yes
SC 6/1142/13-14 (13)	TWYFORD MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1322-1324	Hampshire	
SC 6/1248/23	BEAUWORTH MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1343-1344	Hampshire	
SC6/871/14-SC6/871/15	STEVENAGE MANOR, reeve's accounts	1340-1347	Hertfordshire	Yes
SC6/866/13-SC6/866/23; SC6/866/25	KINGS LANGLEY MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1301-1322	Hertfordshire	
SC6/866/3-SC6/866/4 (3)	GREAT HORMEAD MANOR, reeve's accounts	1323-1328	Hertfordshire	Yes
SC 6/874/7	ELTON MANOR, reeve's accounts	1324-1325	Huntingdonshire	Yes
SC 6/883/1-27	ST. IVES MANOR, reeve's and bailiffs' accounts (27)	1313-1474	Huntingdonshire	
SC 6/882/13-24 (13)	ABBOTS RIPTON MANOR, reeve's accounts (12)	1307-1376	Huntingdonshire	Yes
SC 6/877/15-30 (17), SC 6/878/1-13	HOLYWELL WITH NEEDINGWORTH MANOR, reeve's and bailiffs' accounts (29)	1307-1483	Huntingdonshire	Yes
SC 6/1135/8	SOMERSHAM MANOR, reeves' accounts	1327-1342	Huntingdonshire	
SC 6/908/2	WEST DERBY MANOR, minister's account	1349-1362	Lancashire	
SC 6/908/3	THORNTON MANOR, minister's account	1324-1326	Lancashire	
SC 6/908/27	Kirkeby	1300s	Leicester	Yes
SC 6/908/36	Norton	1300s	Leicester?	Yes
SC 6/908/41	Unknown	1300s	Leicester?	Yes
SC6/916/11-14	ISLEWORTH MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1313-1326	Middlesex	
SC 6/925/9	TINTERN PARVA MANOR, reeves' accounts	1326-1328	Monmouthshire	
SC 6/925/14-18	TRE-GRUG MANOR, reeves' accounts	1312-1322	Monmouthshire	Yes
SC 6/924/15-16	New Grange	1324-1331	Monmouthshire	Yes

Manorial Account Range Sampled	Manor	Coverage of Sources	County	Festive Gifts?
SC 6/926/12-28	Troy (Lands of [Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford]): [Monmouth] Description of Officer: Reeves	1292-1294; 1301-1330	Monmouthshire	Yes
SC 6/942/15	WALSOKEN POPENHOE MANOR, reeve's account	1324-1326	Norfolk	Yes
SC 6/943/16	Stradsett Manor	1300s	Norfolk	Yes
SC 6/937/18	KELLING MANOR, bailiff's accounts	1345-1346	Norfolk	
SC6/949/19,20	WOOTTON (WAHULL FEE) MANOR, reeves accounts	1348-1351	Northamptonshire	
SC6/949/11	THORPE AND ACHURCH MANOR, reeves accounts	1308-1310	Northamptonshire	
SC6/947/16	EASTON NESTON MANOR, bailiffs accounts	1341-1343	Northamptonshire	
SC 6/954/18	WHEATLEY MANOR, reeve's accounts	1288-1290	Nottinghamshire	
SC 6/954/19-26	WHEATLEY MANOR, bailiffs' accounts	1312-1319	Nottinghamshire	
SC 6/968/17	BRIDGWATER CASTLE MANOR, reeve's account	1347-1349	Somerset	
SC 6/970/12-28	FARLEIGH HUNGERFORD MANOR, bailiffs' accounts	1346-1399	Somerset	
SC6/988/15	MARCHINGTON MANOR, ministers accounts, (Honour of Tutbury) (fragment)	1328-1329	Staffordshire	
SC6/988/13	HONOUR OF TUTBURY MANOR, ministers accounts (fragment)	1328-1329	Staffordshire	
SC6/988/23-24	WALSALL MANOR, ministers accounts (fragmentary)	1327-1377	Staffordshire	
SC6/988/8	ROLLESTON MANOR, bailiffs accounts	1287-1289	Staffordshire	
SC 6/1001/8-9	LAWSHALL MANOR, reeve's accounts (2)	1334-1337	Suffolk	Yes
SC6/1014/10-13	RICHMOND MANOR, reeve's accounts	1349-1359	Surrey	
SC 6/1024/2	LULLINGTON MANOR, reeve's account, with Alciston Rectory	1339-1341	Sussex	Yes
SC 6/1016/7-23; 6/1017/1-16	APPLEDRAM MANOR, ministers' accounts	1341-1390	Sussex	Yes
SC 6/1039/19	Knowle	1300s	Warwickshire	Yes

Manorial Account Range Sampled	Manor	Coverage of Sources	County	Festive Gifts?
SC 6/1039/9	ELMDON MANOR, minister's accounts	1322-1324	Warwickshire	
SC 6/1039/12	FILLONGLEY MANOR, serjeant's accounts	1341-1343	Warwickshire	
SC 6/1054/18	LANGDON WICK MANOR, accounts	1292-1292	Wiltshire	

Table A.2: Topographical List of Shrovetide Gift-Giving Traditions c.1250-1500

Place	Earliest Ref	Latest Ref	Beneficiaries	Benefactor	Context	Gift	Source
Great Hormead (Herts)	1261	1327	Workers	L-Royal	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC6/866/1-4
Beaulieu Abbey (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	*The Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbe* [*ABBA*], ed. S. F. Hockey (Camden Society, 4th ser. 16; London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1975),
Sowley (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Saint Leonard’s (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Holbury (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Otterwood (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Beufre (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Hartford (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Bergerie (Hants)	1270	1270	Workers	M-Cist.	Manorial	Food/Drink	ABBA
Findon (Sussex)	1279	1288	Freemen/Knights	L-Elite	Manorial	Hunting Access	SAS, 229-30, 255.
Washington (Sussex)	1279	1288	Freemen/Knights	L-Elite	Manorial	Hunting Access	SAS, 229-30, 255.
Bromham (Wilts)	1283	1312	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: E 315/57/2, fo. 46v.
Troy (Monmouth)	1294	1329	Workers	L-Elite	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/926/11-28
Bury St Edmund’s Abbey (Suffolk)	1300	1500	Students	M-Ben.	Educational	Gamecock	W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (London: Bohn, 1846), 8 vols., iii. 124-5.
Merton College (Oxon)	1301	1411	Students	L-Coll.	Educational	Gamecock	J. M. Fletcher and C. A. Upton, ‘The Cost of Undergraduate Study at Oxford in the Fifteenth Century: The Evidence of the Merton College “Founder's Kin”’, History of Education, 14.1 (1985), 8-9.
Little Dunmow (Essex)	1302	1302	Tenants	M-Aug.	Manorial	Food	Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Little Dunmow', in A History of the County of Essex: Volume 2, ed. W. Page and J H. Round (London: Victoria County History, 1907), 150-154. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp150-154 [accessed 3 May 2018].

Place	Earliest Ref	Latest Ref	Beneficiaries	Benefactor	Context	Gift	Source
Great Dunmow (Essex)	1302	1302	Tenants	M-Aug.	Manorial	Food	Ditto
Barnston (Essex)	1302	1302	Tenants	M-Aug.	Manorial	Food	Ditto
Cranfield (Beds)	1307	1325	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/740/11-16.
Barton (Beds)	1307	1325	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC6/740/1-2
Graveley (Cambs)	1307	1390	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/767/12-22
Chatteris (Cambs)	1313	1313	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/765/19
New Grange (Monmouth)	1324	1331	Workers	L-Elite	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/924/15-16
God’s House, Southampton	1326	1326	Students	L- Hosp.	Educational	Gamecock	Historical Manuscripts Commission. Sixth Report: Part I, Report and Appendix (London: HMSO, 1877), 567
Lawshall (Suffolk)	1335	1373	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/1001/8-9
Abbots Ripton (Hunts)	1343	1364	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/882/19-21
Holywell with Needingworth (Hunts)	1356	1408	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/877/19-30
Horsley (Glos)	1372	1372	Workers	M-Aug.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/855/3
Abbot of Westminster	1373	1373	Workers	M-Ben.	Household	Food	TNA: SC 6/1261/6, fo. 75r.
Sherbourne (Dorset)	1377	1377	Workers	L-Elite	Manorial	Food	F. W. Weaver and C. Herbert (eds.), Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 13 (1912), 31
Elsworth (Cambs)	1382	1382	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	TNA: SC 6/766/27
Durham Priory (Durh)	1387	1430	Workers	M-Ben.	Household	Money	Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. C. Fowler, 3 vols. (Publications of the Surtees Society, 99, 100, 103; Durham: Andrews & Co., 1898-1900), i. 272-3, ii. 442, 464-5, iii. 620
Burewell (Cambs)	1399	1399	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food/Drink	TNA: SC 6/765/10
Gloucester School (Glos)	1400	1400	Students	L-School	Educational	Gamecock	N. Orme, Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006), 157-8
Plymouth (Devon)	1400	1400	Students		Educational	Gamecock	N. Orme, Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006), 157-8
London Bridge	1404	1421	Workers	L-Civic	Civic	Drink	LMA: CLA/007/FN/03/01, 26, 77, 125, 173, 216, 262, 308, 352 [1404-1412] and CLA/007/FN/03/02, 24, 74, 123, 182, 238, 351, 401, 462 [1413-1421].
Peterborough Abbey (Northants)	1405	1414	Students	M-Ben.	Educational	Money & Gamecock	Account rolls of the obedientiaries of Peterborough, ed. J Greatrex (Northamptonshire Record Society, 33; 1984), 132, 143

Place	Earliest Ref	Latest Ref	Beneficiaries	Benefactor	Context	Gift	Source
St Alban's School (Herts)	1430	1430	Students		Educational	Gamecock	N. Orme, Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006), 157-8
Worcester Priory (Worcs)	1478	1478	Workers	M-Ben.	Manorial	Food	’Compotus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester of the 14th and 15th Centuries, ed. S. G. Hamilton (Oxford, James Parker and Co. for the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1910), 30

APPENDIX B

Survey of Festive Football Play in Premodern Britain

Appendix B presents evidence for the popularity and extent of premodern festival football in Britain through a topographical list of 70 communities where festival football was played in some form prior to c.1760. These locations have been mapped in Chapter 2, **Figure 6** and are listed here in order of first dated evidence for a football festive tradition. Although some examples indeed point to sustained traditions benefitting from official patronage, like those discussed in Chapter 2, the majority refer to only one incident. With such singular examples, it is not possible to know if an annual community tradition was under way, or simply ad hoc play. But as conscious and sustained festive football tradition is evident in other contemporary communities, it would not be unreasonable to think these singular instances might point towards the same. Regardless, the table below provides a good starting point for further empirical study into premodern football in Britain. The most frequently consulted sources include the following:

- Goulstone, J., ‘Football’s Secret History –chapters 2 and 3’, *Soccer and* Society, 19.1 (2018), 35-49.
- Hornby, H., *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008).
- Magoun, F., *History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 31; Bochum-Langendreer: H. Pöppinghaus, 1938).

- Malcolmson, R. W., *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (London: CUP, 1973).
- Robertson, J. D. M., *The Kirkwall Ba': Between the Water and the Wall*, (Edinburgh: Dunedin, 2005).
- Young, P., *A History of British Football*, (London: Arrow Books, 1968).

Table B.1 Topographical List of Examples of Festive Football before c.1765

Festivals	Country	City/Town/Village	Ball Game	Earliest Date	Patronage	Source(s)
Shrovetide, Christmas	England	London	Football	1170 (Other significant dates include 1373, 1409, 1588-90, 1594, 1665)	Civic	See relevant section in Chapter 2.
Whitsuntide Extended (Trinity Sunday)	England	Ulgham	Ball Game	1280		Young, 33.
Whitsuntide Extended (Probably in Whitsuntide)	England	Hollesley	Camp-ball	1320		John Ridgard, 'Suffolk's Earliest Football Match at Hollesley in 1320', *Suffolk Review*, NS 59 (2012).
Shrovetide	England	Wolviston	Football	1380		Durham Cathedral Archive: Register I, GB-0033-DCD-Regr-1, fos. ii. 94v-95r. in *Durham University Library: Archives and Special Collections Online Catalogue*
Christmastide (likely)		Southwick	Ball Game	1382		*Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis: Containing Extracts from the Halmote Court or Manor Rolls of the Prior and Convent of Durham, A.D. 1296 - A.D. 1384*, ed. W.H. Longstaffe and J. Booth (Publications of the Surtees Society, 82; Durham: Surtees Society, 1889), 171.

Christmastide (likely)	England	Aycliffe Village	Ball game	1384		*Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis*, 180.
Other Midsummer	England	Chelmsford	Football	1400		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online] [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Whitsuntide Extended (Whit Tuesday):	England	Thorpe-le-Soken	Football	1402		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online] [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Other Lammas (1 Aug).	England	Wilcote	Football	1403		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online]. [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Other St Bartholomew's Day (24 Aug):	England	Eastbourne	Football	1403		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online]. [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Other Michaelmas	England	Odell	Football	1410		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online]. [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Shrovetide (Shrove Sunday, 21 Feb)	England	Dry Drayton	Football	1417		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online]. [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Other St Nicholas Day (6 Dec)	England	Sproughton	Football	1421		*Mapping the Medieval Countryside* [online]. [Accessed: 10/12/2018]
Christmastide	England	Walsall	Football	1422	Civic	Robertson, 294.
Other St Catherine (25 Nov)	England	Bicester	Football	1425	Ecclesiastical	Robertson, 299.
Shrovetide	Ireland	Dublin	Ball Procession	1456	Civic	See relevant section in Chapter 2.
Shrovetide	Scotland	Saint Andrews	Football	1535	Dean of University and Provost of burgh	*Acta Facultatis atrium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413 – 1588*, ed. A. I. Dunlop, *Scottish History Society*, 1964, 380-381.
Shrovetide	Scotland	Perth	Football	1538	Civic	See relevant section in Chapter 2.
Shrovetide	England	Chester	Football	1540	Civic	See relevant section in Chapter 2.
Shrovetide	England	Corfe Castle	Football	1551	Civic	Magoun, 104-5

Other **Mid Lent Sunday**	England	Stondon Massey	Football	1562		*Essex Record Office Online Catalogue*, Q/SR 5/36
Other **Passion Sunday**	England	Shenfield	Football	1562		*Essex Record Office Online Catalogue*, Q/SR 5/4-5
Christmastide	Scotland	Peebles	Football	1570		Magoun, 89
Shrovetide	Scotland	Glasgow	Football	1573	Civic	See Chapter 2.
Shrovetide	England	Chesterton	Camping	1579	Civc	*Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, eds. J. Heywood, and T. Wright, 2 vols. (London: H. G. Bohn, 1854), i. 304-11
Eastertide	England	West Ham	Football	1582		*Essex Record Office Online Catalogue*, Essex Assize File ASS 35/24/T/41, Ref T/A 418/38/41
Shrovetide	England	Gosfield	Football	1582		*Essex Record Office Online Catalogue*, Essex Assize File Ass 35/24/H/44, Ref T/A 418/37/44
Shrovetide	Scotland	Westerloch	Football	1585	Elite	R. W. Saint-Clair, *The Saint-Clairs of the Isles; Being a History of the Sea-kings of Orkney and their Scottish Successors of the Sirname of Sinclair*, (Auckland, NZ: H. Brett, 1898), 196
Eastertide	England	Hawkwell	Football	1593		See Chapter 2
Shrovetide	Cornwall	St Columb Major	Hurling	1593		*REED: Dorset/Cornwall*, eds. S. L. Joyce and E. S. Newlyn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 571
Shrovetide	England	Oxford	Football	1595		'Social and Cultural Activities', in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 4, the City of Oxford*, ed. A. Crossley and C. R. Elrington (London, 1979), 425-441.

Shrovetide	Scotland	Errol	Football	1595		A. J. Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927), 68
Christmastide	Scotland	Elgin	Football	1598	Ecclesiastical	Magoun, 91-2
Whitsuntide Extended	Scotland	Kincaple	Football	1600		Magoun, 91
Shrovetide	England	Carlisle	Football	1601	Civic	See relevant section in Chapter 2.
Shrovetide	England	Shrewsbury	Football	1601		Magoun, 102
Whitsuntide Extended	Wales	Bridell	Knappan	1603		Hornby, 25
Shrovetide	Wales	Newport	Knappan	1603		Hornby, 25
Eastertide	Wales	Pont Gynon	Knappan	1603		Hornby, 25
Eastertide	Wales	Unknown	Knappan	1603		Hornby, 25
Eastertide	England	Dodleston	Football	1608		*Cheshire Archives and Local Studies Online Catalogue*, EDC 5/1608/69
Eastertide	England	Navestock	Football	1615		*Essex Record Office Online Catalogue*, Essex Assize File ASS 35/57/2/40, Ref T/A 418/87/40
Christmastide	Scotland	Banff	Football	1629	Civic	Magoun, 93
Whitsuntide Extended	England	Cropthorne	Football	1633		*Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service Online Catalogue*, 1/1/57/36
Shrovetide	Cornwall	St Ives	Hurling	1639		*REED: Dorset/Cornwall*, eds. S. L. Joyce and E. S. Newlyn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 571
Shrovetide	Scotland	Kelso	Football	1642	Ecclesiastical	*Abstract Records of the Presbytery of Kelso Vol. I. 1609-1647*, 403. Reference kindly supplied by J. J. McGavin and E. Williamson in advance of their forthcoming *Records of Early Scotland: South-East* (to be published digitally by Records of Early English Drama, University of Toronto).

Christmastide	England	Canterbury	Football	1647		M. Bennett, *The English Civil War 1640-1649* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 90.
Christmastide	England	York	Football	1652	Civic	B. S. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 216.
Shrovetide	England	Maidstone	Football	1653		K. S. Martin, *Records of Maidstone Being Selections from Documents in the Possession of the Corporation* (Maidstone, 1926), 131
Shrovetide	Scotland	Lamington	Football	1656		‘United Parishes of Wandell and Lamingtoune’, in *The New Statistical Account, Vol 6,* (Edinburgh, 1845), 823.
Christmastide	Scotland	Burwick	Football	1659		Robertson, 231
Shrovetide	England	Bristol	Football	1660		BRO: Orders and Proceedings of Mayor and Aldermen M/BCC/MAY/1//1, fo. 134
Shrovetide	Scotland	Dalkeith	Football	1671	School	NRS: GD122/3/1, Gilmour household accounts
Eastertide	England	Great Hockham	Camping	1675		*Norfolk Record Office Online Catalogue*, MC 635/1, 785X1
Shrovetide	England	Ashbourne	Football	1683		Hornby, 43.
Christmastide	Scotland	Kirkwall	Football	1684	Ecclesiastical	Robertson, 61
Shrovetide	Scotland	Duns	Football	1686	Civic	Magoun, 102
Shrovetide	Scotland	Jedburgh	Football	1704	Civic	Hornby, 114.
Christmastide	Wales	Llanwenog	Football	1719		Young, 75-8
Eastertide	Wales	Llanfechell, Anglesey	Football	1734		B. D. Roberts, *Mr. Bulkeley and the Pirate. A Welsh Diarist of the Eighteenth century* (London 1936), 36
Christmastide	Scotland	Monymusk	Football	1739		Magoun, 95.
Other Candlemas	England	Bury	Football	1742		Malcolmson, 38
Christmastide	England	Rugby	Football	1743		Hornby, 173.

Shrovetide	England	Derby	Football	1746	Civic	Magoun, 101.
Whitsuntide Extended	England	Ipswich	Football	1748		Goulstone, 4
Other Candlemas.	England	Blackburn	Football	1754		*Lancashire County Council Archive Catalogue Online,* Quarter Session Indictment, QJI/1/1754/Q2/15
Shrovetide	England	Bolton	Football	1755	Ecclesiastical	Young, 90-1
Shrovetide	England	Kingston upon Thames	Football	1756	Civic	*Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* (London, England), Friday, March 5, 1756; Issue 4534. *17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers Online*
Shrovetide	Scotland	Hawick	Football	1760		Magoun, 102
Shrovetide	Scotland	Premnay	Football	1763		*British Newspaper Archive*

APPENDIX C

Calendars of Court Spectacles

In Table C.1 this appendix presents evidence of medieval Shrovetide tournaments in Britain. Table C.2 holds the data and sets out the parameters for the statistical analysis of ‘occasions of spectacle’ and seasonal festive revelry in Chapter 3. For the purposes of this study, an ‘individual court revel’ has been defined as a self-contained performance with a beginning and an end. It is possible, therefore, to have multiple, separate entertainments on a single day or to have one single ‘revel’ extending over a series of days. Tournaments, for example, could fall into either category depending on the set-up. If participants were jousting over the course of several days, this would be entered as ‘one revel’ in the dataset. If, however, barriers, jousting, and a tourney took place on a single day this would be counted as three revels. The reasoning here is that these different forms of martial combat were prepared for and run as distinct events added or subtracted from a tournament programme for effect. On the other hand, when an entertainment is described as having included multiple dramatic forms thematically and temporally incorporated into a single performance, it has been categorized as a single revel. Henry VIII’s Shrove Sunday revel of 1510, for instance, included a banquet, double disguising and mummery, but has been categorized as a single spectacle since it incorporated multiple forms of entertainment into one interconnected display.

When records indicate that revels were performed during a specified time, but not enough information exists to confidently say that more than one unconnected entertainment took place during that time frame, then only one individual revel has been recorded in the dataset. Edward

Hall, for instance, wrote that ‘the king kept a solemn Christmas at Greenwich with banquets, revels, masks and disguisings’ in 1526-7. While this single line of text is probably indicative of multiple revels throughout the Christmas holidays, it has been assigned a value of just one revel in order to avoid assumptions which could distort results. Since this is primarily a study of which times were thought of as appropriate for revelry, performances planned for a particular day have also been counted, whether or not they actually took place.

Each individual revel has additionally been categorized into one of four types of occasion: seasonal festival, socio-political event (e.g. marriages, betrothals, births, truces, visits by foreign dignitaries, etc.), socio-political event held during a seasonal festival, and recreation/diversion. The final category is especially loosely defined, and merely holds those revels that lack any details to indicate occasion or reason for production. It has not been assigned a separate column in the spreadsheet, but has instead been calculated from absences in the other three categories. The degree to which a revel can be categorized and defined in this manner is of course dependant on the level of detail afforded in the source. To avoid ambiguity, only those revels for which there is evidence of a defined date or occasion of performance have been included in the dataset. Those described as having taken place only within a date range (e.g. June to August; the month of November) have been excluded unless a contextual clue (e.g. ‘Joust of May’, ‘Maygame’, ‘wedding masque’) gives some indication of the type of occasion.

This methodology has the limitations and weaknesses of any system which tries to categorize fluid events, concepts and cultural forms of the past into neat subdivisions and definitions. However, every effort has been made to base these categories and definitions on the source material. Payments to players, stage and costume preparations, and records of dedicated rehearsals for certain productions all have been used in defining revels as individual and separate, or interconnected. Dates and reasons for spectacle were almost always recorded in revels documents, suggesting a legitimising connection between the two. Moreover, as long as consistency is maintained, the arbitrary aspects of this analytical exercise should be outweighed by its scholarly gains in illuminating historical patterns previously unknown. In its endeavour to (lightly) quantify culture and discern patterns and changes from there, this methodology builds upon a century’s worth of collective calendaring efforts in theatre history. The following primary calendars have been consulted, alongside original archive work, to create this dataset:

- Streitberger, W. R., *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Studies in Early English Drama, 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 233-299.
- Streitberger, W. R., *The Masters of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court Theatre* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 239-92.
- Young, A., *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), 196-208.
- Astington, J., *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 221-267
- Wiggins M. and C. Richardson, *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue. Vol. 1, 1533-1566* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).
- Steele, M. S., *Plays & Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926).
- Colthorpe, M., 'The Elizabethan Court Day by Day', *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day#The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day.

On the whole, Table C.2 presents only the beginning of what is possible with this information. In the future it will be expanded to include Stuart revels, as well as performers, venues, places, genres and themes, allowing the discernment of additional patterns and networks related to occasion and festivity. For now, however, it is organized primarily to answer a few questions about Shrovetide revelry, such as its relationship to 'chivalric' or martial themes.

Table C.1 Evidence of Shrovetide Tournaments in Britain before 1500

Year	Reign	Kingdom	Location	Source
1232	Henry III	England	Blyth	*Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1231-1234* (London: HMSO, 1905), 358
1248	Henry III	England	Newbury	*Matthew Paris, Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 57; London: Longman, 1872–83), v. 17-18.
1249	Henry III	England	Northampton	*Matthew Paris, Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 57; London: Longman, 1872–83), v. 54–55.
1249	Henry III	England	Blyth	*Lost Letters of Medieval Life: English Society, 1200-1250*, eds. M. Carlin and D. Crouch, 137-218 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 207-9.
1265	Henry III	England	Dunstable	*Annales Monastici. Vol. 3, Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297). Annales Monasterii De Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432)*, ed. H. R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1866), 233.
1268	Henry III	England	Bedeford	'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward I, File 55', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 2, Edward I*, ed. J. E. E. S. Sharp

				(London, 1906), 449-456. *British History Online*
1280	Edward I	England	Dunstable	*Annales Monastici. Vol. 3, Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297). Annales Monasterii De Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432)*, ed. H. R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1866), 285
1286	Edward I	England	Croydon	*Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286*, ed. B. F. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (HMSO, 1977), 26 and 34.
1292	Edward I	England	Dunstable	*Annales Monastici. Vol. 3, Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297). Annales Monasterii De Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432)*, ed. H. R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1866), 373.
1308	Edward II	England	Stepney	*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II: Volume 1, Annales Londonienses and Annales Paulini*, ed. W. Stubbs (1882), 259.
1320	Edward II	England	Hereford	TNA: E 101/372/4
1328	Edward III	England	York	*The Chronicles of Froissart*, tr. J. Bourchier, ed. G. C. Macaulay (London: Macmillan & Co, 1904), 26
1329	Edward III	England	Guildford	J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 60-1, 172-4
1341	Edward III	England	Norwich	J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 172-4
1342	Edward III	England	Dunstable	J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 64-5, 172-4
1342	David II	Scotland	Aberdeen	M. A. Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2004), 86, 311
1348	Edward III	England	Unknown	*Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, 2 vols. (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 17–18; Oxford: OUP, 1992–3), i. 245
1386	Richard II	England	Westminster	*The Westminster Chronicle: 1381-1394*, eds. B. F. Harvey and L. C. Hector (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 111-2
1403	Henry IV	England	Westminster	ODNB
1449	James II	Scotland	Stirling	*Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), 33-38

Table C.2 Calendar of Tudor Court Revels Categorized by Occasion

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
1	1485	13-Nov	H7		Coronation	Martial	Tournament	Yes
2	1485	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
3	1486	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising	
4	1486	March-June	H7		Progresses	Mimetic	Pageants,Plays	
5	1486	21-Sep	H7		Birth of Arthur?	Martial	Tournament	Yes
6	1486	24-Sep	H7		Christening of Arthur	Mimetic	Play	
7	1486	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguisings	
8	1487	25-Nov	H7	St Catherine	Coronation of Queen Elizabeth	Martial	Tournament	Yes
9	1487	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays	
10	1488	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Disguising	
11	1488	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany			Banquet and Carolling	
12	1489	Nov 21, 29, 30	H7	St Andrews Day	Creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales	Martial	Mock Battle	Yes
13	1489	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
14	1489	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays	
15	1490	02-Feb	H7	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play	
16	1490	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguisings	
17	1491	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
18	1492	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Players	
19	1492	May 1-2	H7	May Day		Martial	Tournament	Yes
20	1492	08-Jul	H7	Maying			A May'	
21	1492	02-Oct	H7				Minstrels	
22	1492	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
23	1493	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany			Musical Performance	
24	1493	07-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
25	1493		H7	Shrovetide		AS	Cock-fighting	
26	1493	June	H7	Corpus Christi		Mimetic	Plays	
27	1493	24-Sep	H7			AS	Bull-baiting	
28	1493	25-Dec	H7	Christmas		Mimetic	Disguising	
29	1494	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Players	
30	1494	02-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Morris Dance	
31	1494	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Pageant-disguising	
32	1494	01-Jun	H7	?Palm Sunday/Easter		Mimetic	Disguising	
33	1494	Nov 9, 10, 11, 22	H7	Martinmas	Creation as Duke of York Prince Henry	Martial	Joust	Yes
34	1494	Nov 9, 10, 11, 22	H7	Martinmas	Creation as Duke of York Prince Henry	Martial	Tourney	Yes
35	1494	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
36	1495	04-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	French Players	
37	1495	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays	
38	1495	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguisings	
39	1496	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Players	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
40	1496	02-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
41	1496	04-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
42	1495	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
43	1496	Feb	H7	?Candlemas	Ambassadors Flemish and Spanish	Mimetic	Play?	
44	1496	Feb	H7	?Candlemas		Mimetic	Disguisings	
45	1496	01-Apr	H7	?Eastertide		Mimetic	Players	
46	1496	29-Jun	H7	Peter and Paul		Mimetic	Revels	
47	1496	25-Dec	H7	Christmas			Musical Performance	
48	1496	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
49	1497	02-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
50	1497	07-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
51	1497	19/02-23/2	H7			Mimetic	Players	
52	1497	17-Mar	H7			Mimetic	Players	
53	1497	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
54	1497	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
55	1498	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Players	
56	1498	12-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
57	1498	17-Feb	H7				Musical Entertainment	
58	1498	Aug	H7			AS	Bear baiting	
59	1498	28-Dec	H7	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Players	
60	1498	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
61	1498	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
62	1499	Jan2-4	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
63	1499	Jan5-11	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
64	1499	15-Feb	H7	?Shrovetide		Mimetic	Players paid on 15 Feb	
65	1499	23-May	H7	Whit Sunday	Proxy marriage for Arthur and Katherine on Whit Sunday	Martial	Barriers but possible these were performed 1504	Yes
66	1499	06-Jun	H7	Maygame		Mimetic	Maygame and puppet players	
67	1499	29-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
68	1499	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
69	1500	01-Feb	H7	Candlemas		Mimetic	Players	
70	1500	13-Mar	H7				Musical Entertainment	
71	1500	30-Sep	H7	Michaelmas			Minstrels	
72	1500	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	St Nicholas Bishop?	
73	1501	08-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
74	1501	08-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
75	1501	Jan	H7		Progresses	Mimetic	Players	
76	1501	May-28	H7	?Whitsuntide		Martial	Tournaments	Yes
77	1501	06-Aug	H7			Mimetic	Players	
78	1501	18-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Martial	Joust, tourney, barriers, pageant-cars	Yes
79	1501	22-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Martial	Joust, tourney, barriers, pageant-cars	Yes
80	1501	24-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Martial	Joust, tourney, barriers, pageant-cars	Yes
81	1501	25-Nov	H7	St Catherine	Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Martial	Joust, tourney, barriers, pageant-cars	Yes

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
82	1501	19-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Mimetic	Pageant-disguising	
83	1501	21-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Mimetic	Interlude and pageant-disguising	
84	1501	25-Nov	H7	St Catherine	Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Mimetic	Pageant-disguising	
85	1501	28-Nov	H7		Wedding of Arthur and Katherine (14/11)	Mimetic	Pageant-disguising	
86	1502	07-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
87	1502	07-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
88	1502	8/1-28/1	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
89	1502	24-Jan	H7		Proxy marriage of Margaret and James IV	Martial	Tournament	Yes
90	1502	25-Jan	H7		Proxy marriage of Margaret and James IV	Mimetic	Morris Dance and pageant-disguising	
91	1502	27-Jan	H7		Proxy marriage of Margaret and James IV	Martial	Tournament	Yes
92	1502	16-Oct	H7			Mimetic	Player	
93	1502	25-Dec	H7	Christmas			Carol	
94	1502	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
95	1502	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising	
96	1503	01-Jan	H7	New Year Day		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
97	1503	Jan 2-4	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
98	1503	Jan 2-4	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
99	1503	Jan 2-4	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Morris Dance	
100	1503	12-Apr	H7	?Palm Sunday		Mimetic	Disguising	
101	1503	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
102	1504	05-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
103	1504	13-Jan	H7			Mimetic	Musical Entertainment	
104	1504	31-Mar	H7	Palm Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
105	1504	31-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
106	1505	Jan 2-3	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
107	1505	11-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
108	1505	11-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
109	1505	07-Feb	H7	?Shrovetide		Mimetic	Musical or dramatic entertainment	
110	1505	25-Jul	H7			Martial	Joust	Yes
111	1505	28-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
112	1506	31-Dec	H7	New Year's Eve		Mimetic	Players	
113	1506	10-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
114	1506	10-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
115	1506	Feb	H7		Entertainments for Philip of Castile	Martial	Joust	Yes
116	1506	May 14-21	H7	Jousts of May		Martial	Tournament	Yes
117	1506	22-May	H7	Maying		Mimetic	May pole	
118	1506	29-Dec	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
119	1506	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
120	1507	01-Jan	H7	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
121	1507	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
122	1507	11-May	H7	Jousts of May		Martial	Tournament	Yes
123	1507	11-May	H7	Jousts of June		Martial	Tournament	Yes
124	1507	11-May	H7	Maying		AS	Bear baiting	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
125	1507	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguising for morris dance	
126	1507	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
127	1508	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
128	1508	14-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
129	1508	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
130	1508	25-Dec	H7	Christmas	Betrothal of Princess Mary and Archduke Charles	Martial	Tourney	Yes
131	1508	25-Dec	H7	Christmas	Betrothal of Princess Mary and Archduke Charles	Mimetic	Disguising with morris dance and pageants	
132	1508	25-Dec	H7	Christmas	Betrothal of Princess Mary and Archduke Charles	Mimetic	Players	
133	1508	Dec 25-Jan 6	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Abbot of Misrule	
134	1509	02-Jan	H7	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
135	1509	06-Jan	H7	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
136	1509	01-May	H8	May Day		Martial	Tilt	Yes
137	1509	Jun 24-27	H8	Midsummer	Coronation of Henry VIII	Martial	Tournament	Yes
138	1509	July	H8			Martial	Joust	Yes
139	1509	August	H8			Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
140	1509	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
141	1509	30-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
142	1510	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
143	1510	12-Jan	H8			Martial	Joust	Yes
144	1510	18-Jan	H8			Mimetic	Gladness	
145	1510	10-Feb	H8	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Double disguising and mummery	
146	1510	17-Mar	H8		Entertainment of ambassadors from Aragon and Castile	Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
147	1510	01-May	H8	May Day		Mimetic	Maying	
148	1510	May and June 23, 27, 1, 3, 6	H8	Maying festival Whitsuntide		Martial	Barriers	Yes
149	1510	Jun 23, 28	H8	Midsummer		Procession	Midsummer Watches	
150	1510	July	H8			Mimetic	Players	
151	1510	Oct 6-13	H8			Martial	Joust and Tourney	Yes
152	1510	Oct 14-31	H8			Martial	Foot combat and procession	Yes
153	1510	Nov 13-14	H8		Entertainment of imperial ambasssadors	Martial	Tournament	Yes
154	1510	Nov-16	H8		Entertainment of imperial ambasssadors	Mimetic	Disguising and mummery	
155	1510	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
156	1511	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
157	1511	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising	
158	1511	Feb 12-13	H8		Birth of Prince Henry/Churching of Katherine	Martial	Tournament	Yes
159	1511	Feb-13	H8		Birth of Prince Henry	Mimetic	Disguising and Pageant	
160	1511	May 1-3	H8	May Day		Martial	Joust and Pageant	Yes
161	1511	May 1-3	H8	May Day		Martial	Barriers	Yes
162	1511	15-May	H8	Maying		Martial	Joust	Yes
163	1511	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
164	1512	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Disguising and pageant	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
165	1512	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
166	1512	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Mask	
167	1512	22-Feb	H8	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Players of the Chapel	
168	1512	01-Jun	H8	Whitsuntide		Martial	Joust	Yes
169	1512	02-Jun	H8	Whitsuntide		Mimetic	Players	
170	1512	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
171	1513	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising and Pageant	
172	1513	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
173	1513	18-Oct	H8		King's reception in Tournai	Martial	Jousts	Yes
174	1513	18-Oct	H8		King's reception in Tournai	Mimetic	Mask and banquet	Yes
175	1513	Sept 18-20	H8		King's reception in Lille		Entertainments	
176	1513	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
177	1514	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Interlude and morris dance	
178	1514	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
179	1514	May	H8	Maying		Martial	Joust	Yes
180	1514	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
181	1515	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Disguising	
182	1514	28-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
183	1515	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising, pageant	
184	1515	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Martial	Tourney indoors	Yes
185	1515	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
186	1515	02-Feb	H8	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play	
187	1515	03-Feb	H8	Candlemas		Martial	Joust	Yes
188	1515	19-Apr	H8			Martial	Joust	Yes
189	1515	01-May	H8	May Day		Sport	Archery contest by Robin Hood's men for May festival	
190	1515	01-May	H8	May Day		Procession	Procession with pageants and performers disguised as Lasy May etc	
191	1515	01-May	H8	May Day		Martial	Jousts for May festival	Yes
192	1516	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
193	1516	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mim & Mar	Comdey, barriers, disguising, pageant castle in an interconnected fiction	Yes
194	1516	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
195	1516	29-Jan	H8			Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
196	1516	05-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
197	1516	May 19-20	H8		Honouring Margaret Queen of Scots	Martial	Jousts	Yes
198	1516	May-20	H8	May Festival	Honouring Margaret Queen of Scots	Mimetic	Play	
199	1516	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
200	1517	04-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
201	1517	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising and Pageant	
202	1517	08-Mar	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Children of Chapel	
203	1517	07-Jul	H8		Entertainment for the Flemish ambassadors	Martial	Jousts	Yes
204	1518	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
205	1518	05-Oct	H8		Treaty of Universal Peace	Mimetic	Mommery	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
206	1518	Oct 6-7	H8		Treaty of Universal Peace	Martial	Tournament	Yes
207	1518	07-Oct	H8		Proxy Marriage of Princess Marriage	Mimetic	Disguising and pageant The Rock of Amity	
208	1518	07-Oct	H8		Proxy Marriage of Princess Marriage	Mimetic	Political disguising Report and Pegasus	
209	1518	07-Oct	H8		Proxy Marriage of Princess Marriage	Martial	Tourney	
210	1518	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
211	1519	02-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
212	1519	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
213	1519	Mar 3,8	H8	Shrovetide	Entertainment of French hostages	Martial	Jousts	Yes; Courtly Love
214	1519	07-Mar	H8	Shrove Monday	Entertainment of French hostages	Mimetic	Comedy Plautus	
215	1519	07-Mar	H8	Shrove Monday	Entertainment of French hostages	Mimetic	Italian style mask	
216	1519	03-Sep	H8		French hostages	Mimetic	Pastime and double mask	
217	1519	Oct 21,27, 28	H8		Wedding of Earl of Devonshire	Martial	Jousts	Yes
218	1519	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
219	1519	31-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Meskeller or mummery	
220	1520	05-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Revels	
221	1520	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Disguising with pageant	
222	1520	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
223	1520	08-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Meskkeller	
224	1520	01-Feb	H8	Candlemas		Mim & Mar	Challenge to joust with disguise and pageant	Yes
225	1520	19-Feb	H8	Shrovetide		Martial	Joust	Yes; Courtly Love
226	1520	01-Apr	H8			Mimetic	Interludes	
227	1520	03-Jun	H8	Trinity Sunday	Field of the Cloth of Gold	Mimetic	Pageant	
228	1520	June 11-12	H8		Field of the Cloth of Gold	Martial	Jousts	Yes
229	1520	Jun-17	H8		Field of the Cloth of Gold	Mimetic	Maskellers	
230	1520	24-Jun	H8	Midsummer	Field of the Cloth of Gold	Mimetic	Maskellers	
231	1520	11-Jul	H8		Charles V entertained	Mimetic	Mask	
232	1520	12-Jul	H8		Charles V entertained	Mimetic	Maskellers and pageants	
233	1520	03-Nov	H8			Mimetic	Maskeller	
234	1520	09-Dec	H8			Mimetic	Revels	
235	1520	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Lord of Misrule	
236	1521	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Revels	
237	1521	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Revels	
238	1521	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	Players	
239	1521	Feb 11-12	H8	Shrovetide		Martial	Joust	Yes
240	1521	Feb 11-12	H8	Shrovetide		Martial	Tourney	Yes
241	1521	11-Feb	H8	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Maskeller	
242	1521	12-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Maskeller	
243	1521	29-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Maskeller	
244	1521	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide	Entertainments for Imperial ambassadors		Entertainments	
245	1522	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Maskeller	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
246	1522	02-Mar	H8	Shrove Sunday	Imperial ambassadors	Martial	Joust	Yes; Courtly Love
247	1522	03-Mar	H8	Shrove Monday	Imperial Ambassadors	Mimetic	Play	
248	1522	03-Mar	H8	Shrove Monday	Imperial Ambassadors	Mimetic	Maskellar	
249	1522	04-Mar	H8	Shrove Tuesday	Imperial ambassadors	Mim & Mar	Disguising and Pageant Schatew Vert	Yes; Courtly Love
250	1522	Jun 4-5	H8		Charles V entertained	Martial	Joust	Yes
251	1522	Jun 4-5	H8		Charles V entertained	Martial	Tourney	Yes
252	1522	04-Jun	H8		Charles V entertained	Mimetic	Maskellar	
253	1522	05-Jun	H8		Charles V entertained	Mimetic	Maskellar	
254	1522	15-Jun	H8	Trinity Sunday	Charles V entertained	Mimetic	Meskeller	
255	1523	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide			Christmas kept solemnly	
256	1524	10-Mar	H8			Martial	Joust did Hall mistake this for Feb 10? It's out of chronological order	Yes
257	1524	29-Dec	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Martial	Challenge for Castle of Loyalty	Yes
258	1524	29-Dec	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Martial	Tournament with Pageant	Yes
259	1524	29-Dec	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Martial	Joust at Castle of Loyalty	Yes
260	1524	29-Dec	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Mimetic	Maskeller	
261	1525	Jan 1-2	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Martial	Castle of Loyalty Assault	Yes
262	1525	05-Jan	H8	Christmastide	Scottish Embassy	Martial	Castle of Loyalty Barriers	Yes
263	1525	08-Feb	H8		Scottish Embassy	Mim & Mar	Castle of Loyalty Tourney	Yes
264	1525	18-Jun	H8		Creation of the Duke of Richmond and Somerset	Mimetic	Disguisings	
265	1526	13-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Joust	Yes; Courtly Love
266	1526	30-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Martial	Joust and Tourney	Yes
267	1526	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	banquets, revels, masks and disguisings	
268	1527	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Martial	Joust	Yes
269	1527	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masking to York Place and Mumchance	
270	1527	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Plautus's Menaechmi in Latin	
271	1527	03-Jan	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Pageant-disguising Venus amd elderly lovers	
272	1527	05-Mar	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Joust	Yes
273	1527	06-May	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Martial	Jousts	Yes
274	1527	06-May	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mim & Mar	Dialogue with barriers Love and Riches	Yes
275	1527	06-May	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Disguising-pageant about marriage alliance with masks	
276	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Martial	Joust	Yes
277	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Play Cardinalis Pacificus	Political
278	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Disguising-pageant with mask	
279	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Disguising-pageant with mask	
280	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Disguising-pageant with mask	
281	1527	10-Nov	H8		Anglo-French Treaty	Mimetic	Disguising-pageant with mask	
282	1527	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide			Revels	
283	1528	07-Jan	H8	Christmastide	Celebration of Pope's escape	Mimetic	Play, dialogue, farces	
284	1528	2/12-6/1	H8	Christmastide			Revels	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
285	1529	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
286	1529	31-Dec	H8	Christmastide		AS	Bearbaiting ?	
287	1529	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Disguisings and interludes	
288	1530	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
289	1530	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Banquets, interludes, masks	
290	1531	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
291	1531	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide			Solemn Christmas	
292	1532	10-Jan	H8			AS	Bear baiting	
293	1532	Oct 25-7	H8		Francis I at Calais	AS	Bull and bear baiting	
294	1532	27-Oct	H8		Francis I at Calais	Mimetic	Banquet and mask	
295	1531	Feb 19-21	H8	Shrovetide		Feasting	Banquet	
296	1532	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Comedy?	
297	1533	23-Feb	H8	Shrove Sunday		Feasting	Banquet	
298	1533	24-Feb	H8	Shrove Monday		Feasting	Banquet	
299	1533	25-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Feasting	Banquet	
300	1533	31-May	H8	Whit Sunday	Anne's Coronation	Martial	Coronation joust	Yes
301	1533	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide			Solemn Christmas	
302	1534	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Mock hunt by Lord of Misrule	
303	1535	30-Jun	H8	Eve of St John		Mimetic	Interpretation of Apopcalypse	
304	1534	Feb 15-17	H8	Shrovetide		Feasting	Banquet	
305	1536	24-Jan	H8			Martial	Exercise at the lists	Yes
306	1536	01-May	H8	May Day		Martial	Joust	Yes
307	1537	Feb 11-13	H8	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask?	
308	1537	Oct 12-24	H8		Birth of Prince Edward	Mimetic	Play?	
309	1537	26-Dec	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	
310	1538	21-Jan	H8			Mimetic	Players	
311	1538	22-Jan	H8			Mimetic	Players	
312	1538	23-Jan	H8			Mimetic	Players	
313	1538	02-Feb	H8	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play	
314	1538	04-Feb	H8	Candlemas		Mimetic	Players	
315	1538	Mar 3-5	H8	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask	
316	1538	18-Mar	H8		King visiting his sister	Mimetic	Mask	
317	1538	12-Apr	H8			Mimetic	Play	
318	1538	08-Sep	H8			Mimetic	Players	
319	1539	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
320	1539	14-Jan	H8	?Christmastide		Mimetic	Mask	
321	1539	31-Jan	H8			Mimetic	Players	
322	1539	11-Feb	H8	?Candlemas		Mimetic	Mask	
323	1539	Feb 17-19	H8	?Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask	
324	1539	18-Jun	H8			Mim & Mar	Water Triumph	Yes
325	1539	15-Sep	H8			Mimetic	Mask	
326	1539	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Players	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
327	1540	06-Jan	H8	New	Marriage to Anne Cleves and Coronation	Mimetic	Banquets and masques	
328	1540	06-Jan	H8	Twefth Night	Marriage to Anne Cleves and Coronation	Martial	Joust	Yes
329	1540	May 1, 3, 5	H8	May Day		Martial	Joust	Yes
330	1540	May 1, 3, 5	H8	May Day		Martial	Tourney	Yes
331	1540	May 1, 3, 5	H8	May Day		Martial	Barriers	Yes
332	1540	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Mummeries	
333	1541	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
334	1541	06-Jan	H8	Epiphany		Mimetic	PlYERS	
335	1542	20-Feb	H8	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Mask	
336	1542	21-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask	
337	1542	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks	
338	1543	04-Feb	H8	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Mask	
339	1543	06-Feb	H8	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask	
340	1543	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide	Entertainment of Imperial embassy	Mimetic	Masks and ents	
341	1544	01-Jan	H8	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
342	1544	17-Feb	H8		Duke of Najera	AS	Bear-baiting	
343	1544	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks and ents	
344	1545	Dec 25-Jan 6	H8	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks and ents	
345	1546	Aug 24-31	H8		Anglo-French Treaty with French Admiral	Mimetic	Masks and ents	
346	1547	19-Feb	E6	Shrovetide	Coronation entry	Procession	Coronation entry	
347	1547	20-Feb	E6	Shrove Sunday	Coronation ceremony	Mimetic	Coronation ceremony with mount	
348	1547	20-Feb	E6	Shrove Sunday	Coronation celebrations	Mimetic	Mask	
349	1547	21-Feb	E6	Shrove Monday	Coronation celebrations	Mimetic	Mask	
350	1547	Feb 21-22	E6	Shrovetide	Coronation celebrations	Martial	Tournament	Yes
351	1547	22-Feb	E6	Shrove Tuesday	Coronation celebrations	Mimetic	Pageant and interlude	
352	1547	22-Feb	E6	Shrove Tuesday	Coronation celebrations	Mimetic	Mask	
353	1547	27-Feb	E6		Coronation celebrations	Martial	Joust	Yes
354	1547	27-Feb	E6		Coronation celebrations	Mimetic	Mask	
355	1547	11-Apr	E6	Easter Monday		Mimetic	Play or mask	
356	1548	01-Jan	E6	New Years Day		Mimetic	Pagenat and play	
357	1548	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Mimetic	Mask	
358	1548	01-Jan	E6	New Years Day		Mimetic	Play	
359	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Triumph:assault on Castle	Yes
360	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Triumph: joust	Yes
361	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Triumph: tourney	Yes
362	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Triumph: barriers	Yes
363	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks	
364	1548	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play	
365	1548	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks	
366	1549	01-Jan	E6	New Years Day		Mimetic	Players	
367	1549	Mar 3-5	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks	
368	1549	Mar 3-5	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Pageant dragon with 7 heads	Yes

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
369	1549	Mar 3-5	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play	
370	1549	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks	
371	1549	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays	
372	1550	18-Jan	E6			Martial	Barriers and challenge for joust, tourney and trandon on Sde	Yes
373	1550	Feb 16-18	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Joust, unknown if it was held	Yes
374	1550	Feb 16-18	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Tourney, unknown if it was held	Yes
375	1550	Feb 16-18	E6	Shrovetide		Martial	Trandon unknown if it was held	Yes
376	1550	25-May	E6	Whit Sunday	Pastime for French ambassadors	Martial	Pastime ten against ten at the ring	Yes
377	1550	26-May	E6	Whit Monday	French ambassadors	AS	Bear and bull baiting	
378	1550	29-May	E6	Whitsuntide	French ambassadors		Banquet and entertainments	
379	1550	May	E6	Whitsuntide	French ambassadors	Mimetic	Mask	
380	1550	May	E6	Whitsuntide	French ambassadors	Mimetic	Players	
381	1550	03-Jun	E6		Dudley Marriage	Martial	Joust and Tourney	Yes
382	1550	05-Jun	E6		Dudley Marriage	Martial	Joust and Tourney	Yes
383	1550	19-Jun	E6		Lord Clinton hosts king	Martial	Exhibition	
384	1550	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	masks, plays, pastimes	
385	1551	Feb 8-10	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	masks, plays, pastimes	
386	1551	31-Mar	E6	Easter Tuesday		Martial	Challenge	Yes
387	1551	01-Apr	E6	Easter Wednesday		Sport	Run at base	
388	1551	06-Apr	E6	Eastetide		Sport	Rounds and rovers challenge	
389	1551	03-May	E6	Maying		Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
390	1551	06-Jul	E6			Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
391	1551	16-Jul	E6		Investiture Order of St Michael		Ceremony and banquet, pastime	
392	1551	19-Jul	E6		Investiture Order of St Michael		Courses	
393	1551	26-Jul	E6		Investiture Order of St Michael	Martial	Archery Exhibition	Yes
394	1551	28-Jul	E6		Investiture Order of St Michael		Coursing	
395	1551	31-Oct	E6	All Hallows Eve	Reception of Mary Guise Lorraine		Dauncing and pastime	
396	1551	01-Nov	E6	All Hallows Day	Reception of Mary Guise Lorraine		Dauncing and pastime	
397	1551	17-Nov	E6			Martial	Challenge	Yes
398	1551	25-Dec	E6	Christmas		Mimetic	Play	
399	1551	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Entertainments by Lord of Misrule	
400	1551	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks	
401	1552	02-Jan	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Drunken mask by Lord of Misrule	
402	1552	03-Jan	E6	Christmastide		Martial	Joust	Yes
403	1552	03-Jan	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Mock Midsummer Night's watch	
404	1552	04-Jan	E6	Christmastide		Procession	Entry into London by Lord of Misrule	
405	1552	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Martial	Tourney	Yes
406	1552	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Mimetic	Play	
407	1552	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Mim & Mar	Dialogue with barriers and mask	Yes
408	1552	17-Jan	E6			Martial	Joust	Yes

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
409	1552	29-Feb	E6	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play Self Love	
410	1552	29-Feb	E6	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Maskers at dinner	
411	1552	12-May	E6			Martial	Joust	Yes
412	1552	25-Dec	E6	Christmas		Mimetic	Embassy from Lord of Misrule	
413	1552	26-Dec	E6	Christmastide		Procession	Progress entry and reception of Lord of Misrule	
414	1552	27-Dec	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Ents by Lord of Misrule	
415	1552	Dec 25-Jan 6	E6	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masking ents and pastimes	
416	1553	01-Jan	E6	New Years Day		Mim & Mar	Joust with hobby horses by Lord of Misrule	Yes
417	1553	04-Jan	E6	Christmastide		Procession	Entry into London by Lord of Misrule	
418	1553	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Mimetic	Play	
419	1553	06-Jan	E6	Epiphany		Mim & Mar	Triumph with pageants	Yes
420	1553	02-Feb	E6	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play postponed	
421	1553	Feb 12-14	E6	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Productions planned but postponed	
422	1553	02-Apr	E6	Easter		Mimetic	Masks	
423	1553	02-Apr	E6	Easter		Mimetic	Plays	
424	1553	01-May	E6	May Day		Mimetic	Plays and masks	
425	1553	25-May	E6	Whitsuntide	Triple Wedding	Mimetic	Masks	
426	1553	Dec 25-Jan 6	M	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play, mask and other ents	
427	1554	25-Jul	M		Wedding to Philip		Various ents	
428	1554	01-Nov	M	All Hallows?		Mimetic	Mask of mariners	
429	1554	11-Nov	M	Martinmas		Mimetic	Mask at Arundel place	
430	1554	25-Nov	M	St Catherine		Martial	Martial exhibition and challenge	Yes
431	1554	30-Nov	M	St Andrews Day	Celebration of England's reconciliation with the Church of Rome, queen's pregnancy, Cardinal Pole's visit	Mimetic	Mask	
432	1554	04-Dec	MI			Martial	Barriers	Yes
433	1554	18-Dec	MI			Martial	Running with spears and swords	Yes
434	1554	Dec 25-Jan 6	MI	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks and plays	
435	1555	24-Jan	M			Martial	Joust	Yes
436	1555	12-Feb	M		Marriage of Lord Strange	Mim & Mar	Joust tourney, mask	Yes
437	1555	Feb 24-26	M	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks	
438	1555	19-Mar	M			Martial	Joust	Yes
439	1555	25-Mar	M	Lady Day		Mim & Mar	Joust in disguise	Yes
440	1555	06-Dec	M	St Nicholas		Mimetic	Boy Bishop Sings	
441	1555	28-Dec	M	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Boy Bishop Sings	
442	1555	Dec 25-Jan 6	M	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks ents and plays	
443	1556	02-Feb	M	Candlemas		Mimetic	Masks	
444	1556	Feb 16-18	M	Shrovetide			Ents	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
445	1556	Dec 25-Jan 6	M	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks and Plays	
446	1557	02-Feb	M	Candlemas		Mimetic	Masks	
447	1557	Feb 28, Mar 1-2	M	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks	
448	1557	25-Apr	M	Eastertide		Mimetic	Low Sunday great mask	
449	1557	Dec 25-Jan 6	M	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks plays and pastimes	
450	1558	02-Feb	M	Candlemas		Mimetic	Masks plays and pastimes	
451	1558	Feb 20-22	M	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks plays and pastimes	
452	1556	Feb 16-18	M	Shrovetide		Martial	Tourney	Yes
453	1557	29-Dec	M	Christmastide		Martial	Jousts	Yes
454	1558	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	masks, plays, pastimes	
455	1559	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	New Years Tide		Mimetic	Mask	
456	1559	06-Jan	E	Epiphany		Mimetic	Mask of Papists	
457	1559	14-Jan	E		Coronation	Procession	Entry Procession	
458	1559	15-Jan	E		Coronation	Ceremonial	Coronation ceremony	
459	1559	Jan 16-17	E		Coronation	Martial	Jousts	Yes
460	1559	Jan 16-17	E		Coronation	Martial	Tourney	Yes
461	1559	Jan 16-17	E		Coronation	Martial	Barriers	Yes
462	1559	16-Jan	E		Coronation	Mimetic	Mask	
463	1559	22-Jan	E		Coronation	Mimetic	Mask	
464	1559	05-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Mask of swart-rutters and dance with Duke of Norfolk	Yes
465	1559	06-Feb	E	Shrove Monday			Unnamed ent	
466	1559	07-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of fishermen and fishwives, marketwives	
467	1559	24-May	E		Montmorency's embassy	Both Banquet and Mimetic	Mask of astronomers, banquet and dancing	
468	1559	11-Jul	E			Martial	Jousts	Yes
469	1559	11-Jul	E			Mimetic	Mask in banquetting house at Greenwich	
470	1559	06-Aug	E			Both Banquet and Mimetic	Soper bankett and maske	
471	1559	07-Aug	E			Mimetic	Unnamed play by Children of Pauls	
472	1559	Aug 17-23	E		Progress to West Horsley and Lord Clinton	Mimetic	Mask of shipmen and maids of the country	
473	1559	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks	
474	1559	31-Dec	E	New Yearstide		Mimetic	Play	
475	1559	31-Dec	E	New Yearstide		Mimetic	Mask of clowns or nusquams	
476	1560	01-Jan	E	New Years		Mimetic	Mask of Barbarians	
477	1560	06-Jan	E	Epiphany		Mimetic	Play?	
478	1560	06-Jan	E	Epiphany		Mimetic	Mask of Patriarchs	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
479	1560	06-Jan	E	Epiphany		Mimetic	Mask of Italian Women	
480	1560	25-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday	Wedding of Sir William Brooke and Frances Newton	Mimetic	Mask of nusquams or clowns	
481	1560	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Actaeon and his Hunters	
482	1560	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Diana and her nymphs	
483	1560	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Triumph	Yes
484	1559	05-Nov	E			Martial	Jousts	Yes
485	1560	21-Apr	E	Eastertide Low Sunday		Martial	Joust	Yes
486	1560	28-Apr	E			Martial	Joust	Yes
487	1560	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays, masks, interludes	
488	1560	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Dudley's playes	
489	1560	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Pauls	
490	1561	17-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Sport	Wrestling	
491	1561	17-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Martial	Master of Defence challenge	Yes
492	1561	18-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Masters of Defence fighting	Yes
493	1561	Feb 16-18	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play Huff Snuff and Ruff	
494	1561	Feb 16-18	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masques of men and women	
495	1561	28-Oct	E		French embassy	Mimetic	Mask of Wise and Foolish Virgins	
496	1561	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays	
497	1561	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Martial	Tilt	Yes
498	1561	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Martial	Tourney	Yes
499	1562	18-Jan	E			Mimetic	Inner Temple Joust	
500	1562	18-Jan	E			Mimetic	Inner Temple Tourney	
501	1562	18-Jan	E			Mimetic	Inner Templr mask Beauty and Desire	
502	1562	18-Jan	E			Mimetic	Inner Temple mask Gorboduc	
503	1562	15-Jan	E			Mimetic	Mask at Baynard Castle for Queen	
504	1562	01-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Mask	
505	1562	01-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play of Julyus Sesar	
506	1562	Feb 8-10	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play?	
507	1562	10-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Jousts	Yes
508	1562	14-Feb	E			Martial	Running at the Ring	Yes
509	1562	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays by Dudley's players	
510	1562	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays by Children of Pauls	
511	1563	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play at Windsor	
512	1563	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play at Windsor	
513	1564	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play at Windsor	
514	1564	07-Jun	E		Treaty of Troyes	Martial	Running at the ring and hunting	Yes
515	1564	08-Jun	E		Treaty of Troyes	Mim & Mar	Triumph with two pageants and 3 masks	Yes
516	1564	05-Jul	E		Entertianment with Spanish ambassador	Mimetic	Comedy	
517	1564	05-Jul	E		Entertianment with Spanish ambassador	Mimetic	Mask	
518	1564	06-Aug	E		Entertaining the Queen at Cambridge	Mimetic	Plautus Aulularia	
519	1564	07-Aug	E		Entertaining the Queen at Cambridge	Mimetic	Tragedy of Dido	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
520	1564	08-Aug	E		Entertaining the Queen at Cambridge	Mimetic	Ezekias	
521	1564	09-Aug	E		Entertaining the Queen at Cambridge	Mimetic	Ajax Flagellifer	
522	1564	10-Aug	E		Entertaining the Queen at Cambridge	Mimetic	Anti-Catholic Show	
523	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
524	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
525	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Pauls	
526	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Revels show	
527	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Edwardes tragedy	
528	1564	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Mask	
529	1565	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play by Children of Pauls	
530	1565	08-Feb	E			Mimetic	Menaechmi?	
531	1565	07-Jan	E	Christmastide		Martial	Jousts	Yes
532	1565	07-Jan	E	Christmastide		Martial	Tourneys on foot	Yes
533	1565	17-Feb	E			Mimetic	Play	
534	1565	17-Feb	E			Mimetic	Mask of Hunter and Muses	
535	1565	March 4-6	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Comedy of Diana and Pallas by Gray's Inn	
536	1565	06-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Foot tourney	Yes
537	1565	06-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Satyrs	
538	1565	06-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Gentlemen	Yes
539	1565	02-Mar	E	Shrove Friday	Entertainment of Queen	Mimetic	Play Tragedy of Masinissa and Sophonisba	
540	1565	02-Mar	E	Shrove Friday	Entertainment of Queen	Mimetic	Mask	
541	1565	05-Mar	E	Shrove Monday		Martial	Joust	Yes
542	1565	March 4-6	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask; not performed	
543	1565	March 4-6	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask; not performed	
544	1565	16-Jul	E		Marriage of Henry Knollys and Margaret Cave	Martial	Tourney	Yes
545	1565	16-Jul	E		Marriage of Henry Knollys and Margaret Cave	Mimetic	Mask	
546	1565	16-Jul	E		Marriage of Henry Knollys and Margaret Cave	Mimetic	Mask	
547	1565	Nov 11-13	E		Wedding of Ambrose Dudley and Anne Russell	Martial	Tournament with jousts tourney and barriers with pageants	Yes
548	1565	Nov 11-13	E		Wedding of Ambrose Dudley and Anne Russell	Martial	Tournament with jousts tourney and barriers with pageants	Yes
549	1565	Nov 11-13	E		Wedding of Ambrose Dudley and Anne Russell	Martial	Tournament with jousts tourney and barriers with pageants	Yes
550	1565	Nov 11-13	E		Wedding of Ambrose Dudley and Anne Russell	Mimetic	Mask	
551	1565	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's before 3 Jan	
552	1565	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's before 3 Jan	
553	1565	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's before 3 Jan	
554	1566	17-Jan	E			Mimetic	Play by Westminster School boys	
555	1566	19-Feb	E	Shrovetide	Wedding of Henry Wriothesley to Mary Browne	Mimetic	Mask of the Knights of Diana, wedding a week before ST	Yes
556	1566	Feb 24-6	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play by Gentlemen of Inner Temple, perhaps Gismond of Salerne	
557	1566	01-Jul	E		Wedding of Frances Radcliffe and Thomas Mildmay	Mimetic	Mask of Venus, Diana, Pallas, and Juno followed by ball	
558	1566	01-Jul	E		Wedding of Frances Radcliffe and Thomas Mildmay	Martial	Foot tourney	Yes
559	1566	17-Aug	E		Progress Coventry	Procession	Entry	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
560	1566	17-Aug	E		Progress Coventry	Procession	Reception	
561	1566	Aug31-Sept 6	E		Progress Oxford	Mimetic	Play Marcus Geminus	
562	1566	Aug31-Sept 6	E		Progress Oxford	Mimetic	Play Palamon and Arcite Part 1	
563	1566	Aug31-Sept 6	E		Progress Oxford	Mimetic	Play Palamon and Arcite part 2	
564	1566	Aug31-Sept 6	E		Progress Oxford	Mimetic	Play Progne	
565	1566	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
566	1567	Feb 9-11	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Westminster	
567	1567	Feb 9-11	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
568	1567	11-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Women; Sir Thomas Benger sent to Tower as result	
569	1567	13-Apr	E		Diplomatic Entertainment	Mimetic	Comedy which the Queen disliked because of marriage at end	
570	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks four split between Xmas and SD	
571	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks four split between Xmas and SD	
572	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Lord Rich's Players	
573	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Lord Rich's Players	
574	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
575	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
576	1567	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Westminster	
577	1568	Feb 29-Mar 2	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks four split between Xmas and SD	
578	1568	Feb 29-Mar 2	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Masks four split between Xmas and SD	
579	1568	Feb 29-Mar 2	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
580	1568	Feb 29-Mar 2	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Tragidie by Children of the Chapel	
581	1568	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays, tragedies and masks perpared by Revels Office fo Xmas and SD	
582	1568	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play by Lord Rich's Players	
583	1569	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
584	1569	Feb 20-22	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Plays, tragedies and masks perpared by Revels Office fo Xmas and SD	
585	1569	22-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
586	1569	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays, tragedies and masks perpared by Revels Office fo Xmas and SD	
587	1569	Dec-27	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
588	1570	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play by the Children of the Chapel	
589	1570	Feb 5-7	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Plays, tragedies and masks perpared by Revels Office fo Xmas and SD	
590	1570	05-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by Lord Rich's Players	
591	1570	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Joust first to celebrate Accession Day either this year or 1569	Yes
592	1570	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Comedies, tragedies, masks and shows prepared for Xmas and Shrovetide	
593	1570	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
594	1571	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Martial	Challenge for joust, tourney, and barriers at Sde	Yes
595	1571	Feb 25-7	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Comedies, tragedies, masks and shows prepared for Xmas and Shrovetide	
596	1571	25-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by Children of Chapel or Windsor Chapel, or Paul's	
597	1571	26-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play by Children of Chapel or Windsor Chapel, or Paul's	
598	1571	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Children of Chapel or Windsor Chapel, or Paul's	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
599	1571	25-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Martial	Jousts proclaimed by TN challenge, postponed to May Day	Yes
600	1571	26-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Martial	Tourney proclaimed by TN challenge, postponed to May Day	Yes
601	1571	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Barriers proclaimed by TN challenge, postponed to May Day	Yes
602	1571	May 6-8	E	May Day		Martial	Jousts postponed from 1 May by Queen	Yes
603	1571	May 6-8	E	May Day		Martial	Tourney postponed from 1 May by Queen	Yes
604	1571	May 6-8	E	May Day		Martial	Barriers postponed from 1 May by Queen	Yes
605	1571	19-Dec	E		Wedding of Anne daughter of Lord Burghley to Earl of Oxford	Martial	Jousts planned but postponned until January	Yes
606	1571	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play Lady Barbara by Lane's Players	
607	1571	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Mask?	
608	1571	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play Effiginia a Tragedye by Children of Paul's	
609	1571	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Mask?	
610	1572	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play Aiax and Ulisses by Children of Windsor Chapel	
611	1572	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Mask?	
612	1572	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play Narcisses by Children of the Chapel	
613	1572	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Mask?	
614	1572	17-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play Cloridon and Radiamanta by Lane's Players	
615	1572	17-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Mask?	
616	1572	19-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mim & Mar	Play Paris and Vienne including a tourney and barriers by Children of Westminster	Yes
617	1572	19-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask?	
618	1572	15-Jun	E		Montmorency's embassy	Mimetic	Mask of Peace with pageants following banquet	
619	1572	15-Jun	E		Montmorency's embassy	Martial	Tourney	Yes
620	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Fortune?	
621	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Cariclia and theagenes?	
622	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Masks with costumes for Turks, Fishermen and Women	
623	1573	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Double mask of Janus	
624	1573	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
625	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's Players paid by Jan 1	
626	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's Players paid by Jan 1	
627	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's Players paid by Jan 1	
628	1572	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
629	1573	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play by the Children of Eton	
630	1573	01-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by either Sussex's or Lincoln's Players	
631	1573	02-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play by either Sussex's or Lincoln's Players	
632	1573	03-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Children of the Merchant Taylor's School	
633	1573	03-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Fishermen? Prepared by Revels Office	
634	1573	07-Sep	E		Reception for Marshal de Retz	Mimetic	Mask or mask prepared by Revels Office	
635	1573	Novemeber	E		Wedding of Sir William Drury	Mimetic	Mask prepared by Revels office	
636	1573	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play Predor: & Lucia by Leicester's Players	
637	1573	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play Alkmeon by Children of Paul's	
638	1573	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Mask of Lance Knights	Yes
639	1573	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play Mamillia by Leicester's Players	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
640	1574	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play Truth faythfulnesse and Mercye by Children of Westminster	
641	1574	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play by Children of Eton	
642	1574	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Mask of Foresters	
643	1574	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Herpetulus the blew knight and perobia by Clinton's Players	Yes
644	1574	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Mask of Sages	
645	1574	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play Quintus Fabius by Children of Windsor Chapel	
646	1574	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play Timoclia at the sege of Thebes by Alexander by the Children of the Merchant Taylor's School	
647	1574	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Mask of Six Virtues scheduled but cancelled due to Tediousness of the play	
648	1574	Feb 21-22	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Play Philemon and philecia performed on one of these days by Leicester's Players	
649	1574	23-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play Percius and Anthromiris by Children of the Merchant Taylor's School	
650	1574	23-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Warriors with speeches, one on the night performed by unnamed children	Yes
651	1574	23-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask of Ladies with speeches, one on the night performed by unnamed children	
652	1574	July 11-13	E			Mimetic	Play morality? By Italian Players	
653	1574	15-Jul	E			Mimetic	Play pastoral? By Italian Players	
654	1574	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Plays and masks of unspecified number produced at Christmas, Candlemas, and Shrovetide	
655	1574	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play perhaps Panecia by Leicester's Players with boys	
656	1574	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps Pretestus by Clinton's Players	
657	1575	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play perhaps Panecia by Leicester's Players with boys	
658	1575	02-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play perhaps Pretestus by Clinton's Players	
659	1575	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play Xerces by Children of Windsor Chapel	
660	1575	06-Dec	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Mask of Pedlers on this night or New Years	
661	1575	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play of Vanity by Children of Paul's	
662	1575	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Plays and masks of unspecified number at Christmas, Candlemas, and Shrovetide	
663	1575	13-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by the Children of the Chapel Royal	
664	1575	13-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by the Children of the Merchant Taylors' School	
665	1575	14-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
666	1575	Feb 13-15	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Plays and masks of unspecified number at Christmas, Candlemas, and Shrovetide	
667	1575	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
668	1575	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play by Children of Windsor Chapel	
669	1575	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's Players	
670	1576	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
671	1576	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
672	1576	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play by Sussex's Players	
673	1576	26-Feb	E			Mimetic	Play by Leicester's players either on this day or SS	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
674	1576	27-Feb	E		Wedding?	Mimetic	Play by Alfruso Ferrabolle and Italian players	
675	1576	05-Mar	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
676	1576	06-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Merchant Taylor's School	
677	1576	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play The Paynters daughter by Warwick's players	
678	1576	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play Toolie by Howard's Players	
679	1576	30-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play The historie of the Collyer by Leicester's players	
680	1577	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play The historie of Error by Children of Paul's	
681	1577	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play The historie of Mutius Sceuola by Children of Chapel Royal and Children of Windsor Chapel	
682	1577	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Mask Long Mask scheduled but postponed to ST	
683	1577	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play The history of the Cenefalles by Sussex's Players	
684	1577	17-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play The Historie of the Solatarie knight by Howard's Players	Yes
685	1577	18-Feb	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play The Irisshe Knyght by Warwick's Players	Yes
686	1577	19-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play the History of Titus and Gisippus	
687	1577	19-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask Long Mask which had been postponed from TN	
688	1577	Feb 17-19	E	Shrovetide		AS	Bear-baiting in the great chamber and hall	
689	1577	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
690	1577	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's players	
691	1577	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play by the Children of the Chapel	
692	1577	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
693	1577	29-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
694	1578	05-Jan	E	Twelfthtide		Mimetic	Play by Howard's Players	
695	1578	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Mask?	
696	1578	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play by Sussex's Players	
697	1578	09-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players	
698	1578	11-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by Countess of Essex's Players	
699	1578	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play Three Systers of Mantua by Warwick's players	
700	1578	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play by Children of the Chapel on this day or Twelfth Night	
701	1578	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play Creweltie of a Stepmother by Sussex's players	
702	1579	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play Morrall of the Marryage of Mynde and Measure by Children of Paul's	
703	1579	04-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play pastorell or historie of a Greeke maide	
704	1579	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play The Rape of the Second Helene by Sussex's Players	
705	1579	11-Jan	E		Entertainment for Anjou's agent and entourage	Mim & Mar	Mask of Amazons and Knights including barriers	Yes
706	1579	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play by Warwick's players prepared but not performed	
707	1579	01-Mar	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play The Knight in the Burnyng Rock by Warwick's Players	Yes
708	1579	01-Feb	E	Candlemas	Entertainment held for John Casimir, son the Elector Palatine	Martial	Jousts	Yes
709	1579	02-Feb	E	Candlemas	Entertainment held for John Casimir, son the Elector Palatine	Martial	Barriers on horseback	Yes
710	1579	02-Mar	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Play Loyaltie and bewtie by Children of the Chapel	
711	1579	03-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play Murderous Mychaell by Sussex's players	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
712	1579	03-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask mores mask prepared but not shown	
713	1579	Mar 1-3	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Device- a shipwreck danced by Oxford, Surrey, Lord Thomas Howard, and Lord Windsor at a grand ball	
714	1579	Mar 1-3	E	Shrovetide		AS	Bear-baiting prepared for by Works	
715	1579	Aug 17-26	E		Entertainment of Anjou	Mimetic	Banquets, balls and devises	
716	1579	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts?	Yes
717	1579	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play A history of the Duke of Millayn and Marques of Mantua by Sussex's Players	
718	1579	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play A history of Alucius by Children of the Chapel	
719	1579	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's Players which was prepared but cancelled	
720	1580	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play A history of the four sonnes of fabyous by Warwick's players	
721	1580	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play The history of Cipio Africanus by Children of Paul's	
722	1580	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play by Leicester's players	
723	1580	15-Jan	E			Acrobatic	Strange's Tumblers performed	
724	1580	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play The history of Portio and demorantes	
725	1580	14-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play The history of the Soldan and the Duke of by Derby's players	
726	1580	16-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play The history of Serpedon	
727	1580	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
728	1580	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play A Comodie called delighte by Leicester's players	
729	1580	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Storie performed by Sussex's players	
730	1581	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Storie performed by Derby's players	
731	1581	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play A storie of Pompey by Children of Paul's	
732	1581	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Martial	Challenge at tilt	Yes
733	1581	22-Jan	E			Martial	Jousts	Yes
734	1581	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Storie by Sussex's players	
735	1581	05-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Storie by Children of the Chapel	
736	1581	07-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Storie by Leicester's players	
737	1581	16-Apr	E		Reception and entertainment of French commissioners	Martial	Challenge for tournament scheduled for 24 April when French commissioners arrived	Yes
738	1581	20-Apr	E		Reception and entertainment of French commissioners	Mimetic	Entertainments various and poorly documented	
739	1581	May 15-16	E	Whitsuntide	Entertain French commissioners	Mim & Mar	Tournament The Fortress of Perfect Beauty	Yes
740	1581	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
741	1581	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play by Children of Paul's	
742	1581	28-Dec	E	St John's Night		Acrobatic	Feats of activity	
743	1581	31-Dec	E	New Year's Eve		Mimetic	Play by Children of the Chapel	
744	1582	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play the Captive Demi-God Anglo-French entertainment	
745	1582	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Martial	Barriers	Yes
746	1582	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mim & Mar	Mask of Imrpisoned Knights	Yes
747	1582	26-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday	Wedding of Elizabeth Cecil to William Wentworth	Mimetic	Play	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
748	1582	27-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play by the Children of the Chapel	
749	1582	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play A Comodie or Morrall devised on a game of the Cardes by the Children of the Chapel	
750	1582	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play A Comodie of Bewtie and Huswifery	
751	1582	30-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play A Historie of Love and Fotunre	
752	1583	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Acrobatic	Tumbling and activities	
753	1583	05-Jan	E	Twelfthtide		Mimetic	Mask of Ladies	
754	1583	06-Jan	E	Twelfth Night		Mimetic	Play A historie of ferrar	
755	1583	Feb 10-12	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Mask of Six Seamen prepared but not shown	
756	1583	10-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play A historie of Telomo	
757	1583	12-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play A historie of Ariodante and Genevora	
758	1583	May	E		Entertainment of Count Albert of Alasco and French ambassador	Martial	Jousts	Yes
759	1583	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Joust	Yes
760	1583	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
761	1583	29-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
762	1584	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play probably Campaspe	
763	1584	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps The Arriagnment of Paris on this day or Candlemas	
764	1584	02-Feb	E	Shrove Monday and Candlemas		Mimetic	Play perhaps The Arriagnment of Paris on this day or TN	
765	1584	03-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play Sappho and Phao	
766	1584	03-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
767	1584	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
768	1584	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play Pastorall of Phillyda and Choryn	
769	1584	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play history of Agamemnon and Ulisses	
770	1585	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Acrobatic	Feats of activity	
771	1585	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play history of felix and philomena	
772	1585	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play Invention called five playes in one	
773	1585	21-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play Invention of three playes in one prepared but not shown	
774	1585	23-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play An Antick playe and a comodye	
775	1585	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
776	1584	06-Dec	E			Martial	Joust between ten married me and ten bachelors	Yes
777	1585	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
778	1585	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
779	1586	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
780	1586	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
781	1586	09-Jan	E			Acrobatic	Tumbling and activities	
782	1586	Feb 13-15	E	Shrovetide		Martial	Barriers in the hall	Yes
783	1586	13-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
784	1586	May 22-29	E	Whitsuntide	Entertainment of Danish ambassador	AS	Bear-baiting and other recreations	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
785	1586	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
786	1586	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Acrobatic	Tumbling exhibition	
787	1586	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
788	1586	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
789	1587	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
790	1587	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
791	1587	Feb 26-28	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Show 'Leicester in the Netherlands	
792	1587	26-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
793	1587	28-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
794	1587	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
795	1587	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Acrobatic	Feats of activity	
796	1588	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play John Lyly's Gallathea	
797	1588	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play anti Spanish?	Political
798	1588	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play John Lyly's Endymion	
799	1588	18-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
800	1588	28-Feb	E			Mimetic	Play The Misfortunes of Arthur	Yes
801	1588	26-Aug	E		Victory over the Spanish Armada	Martial	Jousts	Yes
802	1588	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
803	1588	19-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day	Celebration of Armada victory	Martial	Jousts	Yes
804	1588	24-Nov	E	Accession Day	Originally scheduled for Accession Day to celebrate Victory over the Spanish Armada	Procession	Procession to St Paul's	Political
805	1588	30-Nov	E	St Andrew's Day		Mimetic	Entertainment, date uncertain	
806	1588	30-Nov	E	St Andrew's Day		Acrobatic	Acrobatic exhibition	
807	1588	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
808	1588	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
809	1588	29-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
810	1589	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play perhaps Lyly's The Woman in the Moon	
811	1589	12-Jan	E			Mimetic	Play on the Sunday after TN	
812	1589	09-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
813	1589	11-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
814	1589	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
815	1589	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play at Christide	
816	1589	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
817	1589	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Acrobatic	Feats of activity	
818	1590	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
819	1590	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play Lyly's Midas	
820	1590	01-Mar	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
821	1590	03-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
822	1590	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
823	1590	19-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
824	1590	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
825	1590	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
826	1591	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
827	1591	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
828	1591	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
829	1591	14-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
830	1591	16-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
831	1591	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
832	1591	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
833	1591	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
834	1591	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play	
835	1592	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
836	1592	02-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
837	1592	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
838	1592	09-Jan	E			Mimetic	Play on the Sunday after TN	
839	1592	06-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
840	1592	08-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
841	1592	Sept 23-8	E		Progress	Mimetic	Entertainments	
842	1592	24-Sep	E		Progress	Mimetic	Play Bellum Grammaticale	
843	1592	26-Sep	E		Progress	Mimetic	Play Rivales	
844	1592	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Challenge for joust at Shrovetide	Yes
845	1592	Dec 25-Jan 6	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
846	1592	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
847	1592	31-Dec	E	New Year's Eve		Mimetic	Play	
848	1593	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
849	1593	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
850	1593	Feb 25-27	E	Shrovetide		Martial	Jousts in response to Accession Day challenge but no evidence they were held	Yes
851	1593	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
852	1594	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
853	1594	Feb 10-12	E	Shrovetide		Mimetic	Plays and other fanfares, pride and great ruff	
854	1594	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
855	1594	19-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
856	1594	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
857	1594	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play	
858	1594	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play	
859	1595	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
860	1595	26-Jan	E		Wedding of Lady Elizabeth Vere and Earl of Derby	Mimetic	Mask	Marriage

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
861	1595	01-Mar	E	Shrove Saturday		Martial	Joust	Yes
862	1595	02-Mar	E	Shrove Sunday		Martial	Tourney	Yes
863	1595	03-Mar	E	Shrove Monday		Mimetic	Mask of Proteus	
864	1595	04-Mar	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Barriers	Yes
865	1595	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
866	1595	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
867	1595	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
868	1595	30-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
869	1596	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
870	1596	04-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
871	1596	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
872	1596	22-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
873	1596	22-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
874	1596	24-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
875	1596	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
876	1596	Nov 19-20	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
877	1596	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
878	1596	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
879	1597	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
880	1597	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
881	1597	06-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
882	1597	08-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
883	1597	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
884	1597	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play perhaps Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost	
885	1597	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
886	1598	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play perhaps Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost	
887	1598	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost	
888	1598	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Mask of Passions	
889	1598	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Martial	Barriers	Yes
890	1598	26-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
891	1598	28-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
892	1598	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
893	1598	19-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
894	1598	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
895	1598	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps Roben hood	
896	1599	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
897	1599	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps Roben hood	
898	1599	18-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play perhaps Roben hood	
899	1599	20-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
900	1599	May 27-June 2	E	Whitsuntide		AS	Bear-baiting	
901	1599	19-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts postponeed from 17/11 due to weather	Yes
902	1599	21-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts planned but postponned until Sde	Yes
903	1599	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
904	1599	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play perhaps Dekker's Old Fortunatus	
905	1600	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play The Shoemaker's Holiday?	
906	1600	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
907	1600	Feb 3-5	E	Shrovetide		Martial	Jousts? Postponed from 21 Nov but no evidence they were held	Yes
908	1600	03-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
909	1600	03-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
910	1600	08-Mar	E		Entertainment of Flemish ambassador	Mimetic	Play ‘Sir John Old Castell, to his Great Contentment’	
911	1600	01-May	E	May Day		Martial	Jousts or martial arts exhibition, perhaps postponed from Sde?	Yes
912	1600	12-May	E	Whit Monday		Acrobatic	Feats of activity	
913	1600	13-May	E	Whit Tuesday		AS	Apes, Bull and bear baiting	
914	1600	May 16-7	E	Whitsuntide	Wedding of Anne Russell to Lord Herbert Chepstow	Mimetic	Mask of Muses	
915	1600	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
916	1600	19-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
917	1600	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
918	1600	28-Dec	E	Holy Innocents		Mimetic	Play	
919	1601	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
920	1601	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
921	1601	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night	Entertainment of Muscovite ambassador and Duke of Bracciano	Mimetic	Play	
922	1601	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night	Entertainment of Muscovite ambassador and Duke of Bracciano	Mimetic	Play	
923	1601	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night	Entertainment of Muscovite ambassador and Duke of Bracciano	Mimetic	Play	
924	1601	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night	Entertainment of Muscovite ambassador and Duke of Bracciano	Mimetic	Play	
925	1601	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night	Entertainment of Muscovite ambassador and Duke of Bracciano	Mimetic	Show with music and special songs	
926	1601	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play	
927	1601	22-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
928	1601	24-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Play	
929	1601	June 1-6	E	Whitsuntide		AS	Bear-baiting	
930	1601	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
931	1601	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play perhaps Merry Wives of Windsor	
932	1601	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
933	1601	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
934	1601	29-Dec	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play date uncertain	

No.	Year	Date	R	Festival	Dynastic/State Event	Revel Type	Revel Description	Chivalric in theme?
935	1602	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
936	1602	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play	
937	1602	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Pllay	
938	1602	10-Jan	E			Mimetic	Play Sunday following TN	
939	1602	14-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
940	1602	14-Feb	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	
941	1602	16-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Mimetic	Mask and dancing	
942	1602	16-Feb	E	Shrove Tuesday		Martial	Barriers	
943	1602	29-Aug	E		Progress	Mimetic	Play	
944	1602	Feb 14-16	E	Shrovetide		AS	Bear-baiting	
945	1602	May 24-31	E	Whitsuntide		AS	Bear-baiting	
946	1602	17-Nov	E	Accession Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
947	1602	20-Nov	E	St Elizabeth's Day		Martial	Jousts	Yes
948	1602	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Dancing	Two galliards	
949	1602	26-Dec	E	St Stephen's		Mimetic	Play	
950	1602	27-Dec	E	St John's Night		Mimetic	Play	
951	1603	01-Jan	E	New Year's Day		Mimetic	Play	
952	1603	02-Jan	E	Christmastide		Acrobatic	Vaulting and other exercises	
953	1603	03-Jan	E	Christmastide		Mimetic	Play Christmas Comes but Once a Year’ by Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, and Webster?]	
954	1603	05-Jan	E	Twelfthtide		Acrobatic	Vaulting and other exercises	
955	1603	06-Jan	E	Twefth Night		Mimetic	Play	
956	1603	02-Feb	E	Candlemas		Mimetic	Play	
957	1603	06-Mar	E	Shrove Sunday		Mimetic	Play	

APPENDIX D

Prosopography of the London Shrovetide Rioter

Chapter 4’s prosopographical study of the early Stuart Shrovetide rioter is based upon the dataset in this appendix. It is culled from around 150 separate judicial manuscripts, primarily of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, but occasionally also from the Westminster Quarter Sessions, Bridewell Courtbooks and repertories of the aldermen. The spreadsheet catalogues the names, genders, status, professions, masters (in the case of servants and apprentices), residences, victims and sometimes actions of over 250 people accused of Shrove Tuesday riot between 1598 and 1641. Criteria included evidence of crowd action, and evidence that this crowd action took place during or near Shrovetide. Often the records make explicit that a tumult was a ‘Shrove Tuesday riot’, but sometimes it can only be gleaned from the date of the crime. Such dates are most accurately given in session indictments, for this was the action and document which began the legal proceedings against an accused. As evidence was gathered related to the offense, recognizances were sent out to summon the accused or witnesses to a Sessions of the Peace. If indictments give best indication of when a riot occurred, recognizances, along with registers of sessions and gaol deliveries, provide the most accurate detail on individuals’ status, profession, and residence. The dataset combines these sources when possible to get the clearest picture of what happened and who did it. In some cases, we know little more than that a riot occurred. In others, the whole chain of events can be mapped out in detail. However, by combining data on over 50 separate instances of crowd action played out annually over forty years, the table below can suggest overarching patterns and tendencies.

Table D.1 Shrovetide Riots, Accused Rioters, and Victims in London and its Suburbs, 1598-1641

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
1	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	Bartholomew	Adams	M	yeoman		Unknown						100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
2	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	Stephen	Caver	M	yeoman		Unknown						100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
3	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	Edmund	Graye	M	servant		London			William	Hodgeskins	Baker	100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
4	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Needeham	M	servant		London			Andrew	Huntingdon	Baker	100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
5	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Symons	M	servant		London			William	Hodgeskins	Baker	100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
6	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Hickman	M	servant		London		Bushe Lane	Thomas	Adlington	Clothworker	100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
7	1598	1	E	Hollowaie	Shorditch	St Leonard	George	Acourte	M	craftsman	cordewayner	London		Mary Aldermanburie				100	John Harris	MJ/SR/0353/43
8	1600	2	E	Unknown			John	Coles	M	servant		London		Trynitie Lane	Lygonis	Lorde?	Baker	100		MJ/SR/0377/38
9	1600	2	E	Unknown			Wallec?	Shalerly	M	servant		London		Littlewood Street	Robert	Eyre	Silkweaver	100		MJ/SR/0377/38
10	1600	2	E	Unknown			William	Davies	M	servant		London		Mark Lane	Richard	?	Shoemaker	100		MJ/SR/0377/38
11	1600	2	E	Unknown			?	Davies	M	servant		London		St Martin's Lane	James (Jacobi)	Dickson	Shoemaker	100		MJ/SR/0377/38
12	1600	2	E	Unknown			Williams	Wilson	M	craftsman	cutler	London		Fleet Street				100		MJ/SR/0377/38
13	1600	2	E	Unknown			Thomas	Clarke	M	servant		London		Carter Lane	John	Clarke	Shoemaker	100		MJ/SR/0377/38
14	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Michael	Pudsey	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
15	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Brewer	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
16	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	William	Gallante	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
17	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Michael	Springell	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
18	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Hugh	Williams	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
19	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Littlewood	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
20	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Reade	M	yeoman		London						20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/49
21	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	William	Tame	M	servant		London	St Bridgette alias Bride	Bride	Norcis?	Nowell?	cutler	20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/28, 49
22	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Roall	M	servant		London	St Bridgette alias Bride	Bride	Norcis?	Nowell?	cutler	20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/28, 49
23	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Davies	M	craftsman	cutler	London	St Bridgette alias Bride	Bride				20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/17, 49
24	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Jackson	M	craftsman	cordewayner		St Katherine near Tower					20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/16, 49
25	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Anthony	M	servant		Southwark	St Salvatore		Romici?	Arme	blacksmith	20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0400/118, 49
26	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Edward	Graves	M	craftsman	bricklayer	Nortonfolgate	St Leonard					20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/18
27	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Andrew	Lincolne	M	craftsman	butcher	Nortonfolgate	St Leonard					20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/18
28	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Parrys	M	servant		London			Thomas	Parry	innholder	20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/18
29	1602	3	E	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Alexander	Bowker	M	apprentice	draper	London			Thomas	Salisbury	draper	20	Helen Howell	MJ/SR/0399/22
30	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		Robert	Duste	M	craftsman	carman	Unknown								BCB05/fo92
31	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		Richard	Shepard	M	masterless		Unknown								BCB05/fo92
32	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		John	Starnige	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Unknown								BCB05/fo92
33	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		James	Wood	M	craftsman	silkweaver	Unknown								BCB05/fo92
34	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		Henry	Conner	M	craftsman	cutler	Unknown								BCB05/fo92

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
35	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		Henrey	Samon	M	unknown		Unknown								BCB05/fo92
36	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		John	Bruter	M	apprentice	carman	Unknown								BCB05/94v
37	1606	4	J	Moorefields	London		Henrey	Comork	M	apprentice		Unknown								BCB05/94v
38	1606	5	J	Finsbury Fields	Finsbury		Unknown	Unknown	M	unknown		Unknown								COL/CA/01/01/27/171
39	1606	5	J	Finsbury Fields	Finsbury		Unknown	Unkown	M	unknown		Unknown								COL/CA/01/01/27/171
40	1606	5	J	Finsbury Fields	Finsbury		George	Coles	M	apprentice	locksmith	Unknown								COL/CA/01/01/27/171
41	1607	6	J	Old Street	Clerkenwell		Richard	Floud	M	yeoman		London						100	Ralph Collett; Robert Griffin; William Martinson; Edward Baylie; Edward Kynnis; Edward Freeman	MJ/SR/444/98
42	1607	6	J	Old Street	Clerkenwell		Edward	Warrener	M	yeoman		London						100	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/98
43	1607	6	J	Old Street	Clerkenwell		Thomas	Tanner	M	yeoman		London						100	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/98
44	1607	6	J	Old Street	Clerkenwell		John	Dormer	M	yeoman		London						100	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/98
45	1607	6	J	Old Street	Clerkenwell		John	Blackway e	M	yeoman		London						100	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/98

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
46	1607	7	J	Turmil Street; Cowcross	Clerkenwell		Thomas	Linsey	M	unknown		Unknown						200	At Turnmil-Richard Patrick; James Jackson; John Langley; Anne Rose. At Cowcross-Rchard Todde; Henry Piereson; Edward Savadge; Richard Brownwen; John Sharpe; William Thomas; Alexander Cleyland; Margaret Marshall; Edward Warren; Thomas Cowper; Richard Girdler; David Jones; George Johnson	MJ/SR/444/68, 99, 100
47	1607	7	J	Turmil Street; Cowcross	Clerkenwell		John	Nott	M	unknown		Unknown						200	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/68, 99, 100
48	1607	7	J	Turmil Street; Cowcross	Clerkenwell		William	Ap'Robert	M	unknown		Unknown						200	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/68, 99, 100
49	1607	7	J	Turmil Street; Cowcross	Clerkenwell		John	Elson	M	unknown		Unknown						200	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/68, 99, 100
50	1607	7	J	Turmil Street; Cowcross	Clerkenwell		John	Chapman	M	unknown		Unknown						200	Ditto	MJ/SR/444/68, 99, 100

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
51	1608	8	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Stavord	M	servant		London	St Giles	Cripplegate	Richard	Mills	carpenter	100	Thomas Holden, yeoman; Nicholas Hawkins, chandler; William Leake, victualler; Alexander Cleeland; Margaret Clarke; garden of William Wood	MJ/SR/0457/60, 76-7
52	1608	8	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Banister	M	apprentice	draper	London	St Duncan in the East		Thomas	Keightly	draper	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0457/58, 77
53	1608	8	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	William	Collopp	M	servant		Southwark	St Thomas		Nicholas	Okes	glover	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0457/59, 76-7
54	1608	8	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Enos	M	servant		London	St Martin	Ludgate	Thomas	Hall	tailor	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0457/62, 76-7
55	1608	8	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Gennott	M	servant		London	St Bennett	Paul's Wharf	Severn	Hall	goldsmith	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0457/61, 76-7
56	1609	9	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Hunter	M	servant		London			Edward	Whitley	tailor			MJ/SR/469/102; MJ/SB/01/106
57	1609	9	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Conaway	M	son		London	St Bennett	Thames Street	Thomas	Conaway	father; yeoman			MJ/SR/469/28; MJ/SB/01/110
58	1609	9	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Pennington	M	craftsman	gilder?	London		St Lawrence Lane						MJ/SB/R/01/110
59	1609	9	J	Nortonfolgate	Shorditch	St Leonard	Katherine	Brome	F	wife		Shorditch	St Leonard		John	Brome	husband; shoemaker			MJ/SR/0469/99; MJ/SB/R/01/110
60	1610	10	J	Fortune Theatre	Clerkenwell		Robert	Netherwood	M	unknown		Unknown						500	Fortune	BCB/04/fo416

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
61	1611	11	J	Unknown			John	Farefield	M	apprentice	haberdasher	London	St Michael	Crooked Lane	Thomas	Mempris	haberdahser			MJ/SR/0498/55, 62; MJ/SB/R/01/338-9
62	1611	11	J	Unknown			Thomas	Cocket	M	apprentice	combmaker	Westminster	St Clement's Danes	extra Temple Bar	William	Davis	combmaker			MJ/SR/0498/58, 63, 144; MJ/SB/R/01/339
63	1611	12	J	Fortune Theatre	Clerkenwell		Stephen	Hipwell	M	servant		London	St Mary's Abchurch		Richard	Kinge	carpenter		Fortune	MJ/SR/0498/56; MJ/SB/R/01/339
64	1611	13	J	Hoxton Fields	Hoxton		Abraham	Piggin	M	son		London			Robert	Piggin	draper			MJ/SR/0498/59; MJ/SB/R/01/339
65	1611	13	J	Hoxton Fields	Hoxton		John	Day	M	apprentice	glover	Southwark	St Saviours		Ralph	Wilson	glover			MJ/SR/0498/54, 60; MJ/SB/R/01/338-9
66	1612	14	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Be---?	M	servant		Unknown			John	Hallanse		with a 1000 more'	Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; MJ/SB/R/01/486; MJ/GB/R/01/192
67	1612	14	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch		Richard	Cowper	M	apprentice		London	All Hallows the Great		Armiger	Hull	clothworker	with a 1000 more'	Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; MJ/SB/R/01/491; MJ/GB/R/01/192
68	1612	14	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	George	Robinson	M	craftsman	bricklayer	Shorditch	St Leonard					with a 1000 more'	Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; MJ/SB/R/01/491; MJ/GB

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
																				/R/01/192
69	1612	14	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Simon	Mumford	M	yeoman		Whitechapel						with a 1000 more'	Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; MJ/SB/R/01/491; MJ/GB/R/01/192
70	1612	14	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Baylie	M	craftsman	clothworker	London	All Hallows					with a 1000 more'	Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0510/25, 84, 120; MJ/SB/R/01/490; MJ/GB/R/01/192
71	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	James	Wigger	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/586; MJ/GB/R/01/216
72	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Humphrey	Roberts	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140;MJ/SB/R/01/586; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 217v, 220
73	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Wittes	M	yeoman		Shorditch	St Leonard						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SR/0519/20; MJ/SB/R/01/586, 593; MJ/GB/R/01/212v

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
74	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Ralph	Billye	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SR/0519/73; MJ/SB/R/01/586; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 216, 217
75	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Reynoldes	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v
76	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Jones	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 217v
77	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Edwards	M	craftsman	silkweaver	Shorditch	St Leonard						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SR/0519/18; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 217v
78	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Joseph	Chapman	M	yeoman		Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 216

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
79	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Adam	Clunn	M	apprentice	needle-maker	London	St Giles without Cripplegate	Grub Street	Thomas	Snell	needle-maker		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SR/0519/65; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 216, 217
80	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Daniel	M	servant		London		Bishopsgate Street	Nicholas	Taberer	weaver		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 214, 216v
81	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Topcliffe	M	servant		London	St Benet Finck		John	Bell	clerk		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/100, 140; MJ/SR/0519/66; MJ/SB/R/01/589; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 216, 217
82	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Guy	M	yeoman		London							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SR/0519/52; MJ/SB/R/01/587; MJ/GB/R/01/212v, 216, 216r
83	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Anthony	Sympson	M	unknown		Unknown							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/140; MJ/SB/R/01/586;

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
																				MJ/GB/R/01/212v
84	1613	15	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Lewys	M	servant		Shorditch	St Leonard	Holliwell Street	Richard	Foster	blacksmith		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0517/100, 140; MJ/SB/R/01/590-1; MJ/GB/R/01/214v, 216v
85	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Clement	Watson	M	servant		Southwark	St Saviours		Francis	Rubye	silk-throwster		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/4; MJ/SB/R/2/50
86	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Ralph	Bettes	M	servant		Southwark	St Saviours		William	Champion	woodmonger		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/80; MJ/SB/R/2/50, 52, 56
87	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Fokyn	M	craftsman	haberdasher		St Katherines						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/7; MJ/SB/R/2/50
88	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Potter	M	apprentice	clockmaker	Westminster	St Clement's Danes		John	Potter	masterclockmaker		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/8; MJ/SB/R/2/50, 56
89	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Gaunte	M	craftsman	haberdasher		St Katherines						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/7
90	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Richard	Popkin	M	apprentice	baker	Southwark		Barmesby Street	Richard	Millerd	baker		Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/9; MJ/SB/R/2/50
91	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Thomas	Baker	M	craftsman	woodmonger	Southwark	St Saviours						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/78; MJ/SB/R/2/50
92	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Scoper	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Clerkenwell							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/34; MJ/GB/R/2/16r

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
93	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Willyams	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Clerkenwell							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/34; MJ/GB/R/2/16r
94	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Nathaniel	Fulthorne	M	craftsman	bricklayer	Stepney							Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/141, 172; MJ/SB/P/001/29v; MJ/GB/R/2/16r, 16v; MJ/SB/R/2/52
95	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Isaac	Shearingham	M	craftsman		London	St Bride						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/98, 172; MJ/SB/P/001/29v; MJ/GB/R/02/16r; MJ/SB/R/2/51
96	1614	16	J	Shorditch Church	Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Cutts	M	labourer		London	St Botolph's without Bishopsgate						Mistress Leake	MJ/SR/0529/20, 172; MJ/SB/P/001/29v; MJ/GB/R/02/51
97	1615	17	J	Unknown			Roger	Usherwood	M	craftsman	shoemaker	Westminster	St Giles in the fields						Goodman's house	MJ/SR/0538/32
98	1616	18	J		Shorditch	St Leonard	Robert	Orpen	M	apprentice		Shorditch			Lettice	Cotton	spinster		Thomas Allyn, gentleman's house	MJ/SR/0547/87; MJ/SB/R/2/279, 283
99	1616	18	J		Shorditch	St Leonard	Jerome	Wayte	M	servant		London	St Giles without Cripplegate		Richard	Wayte	bricklayer		Thomas Allyn, gentleman's house	MJ/SR/0548/13; MJ/SB/R/2/284

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
100	1616	18	J		Shorditch	St Leonard	John	Powle	M	servant		London	St Giles without Cripplegate		Richard	Wayte	bricklayer		Thomas Allyn, gentleman's house	MJ/SR/0548/13; MJ/SB/R/2/284
101	1616	18	J		Shorditch	St Leonard	Lettice	Cotton	F	spinster		Shorditch	St Leonard						Thomas Allyn, gentleman's house	MJ/SR/0547/87; MJ/SB/R/2/279, 283
102	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Stephen	George	M	unknown		Unknown							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/547/17, 173; MJ/GB/R/02/71
103	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Gabriel	Morgan	M	unknown		Unknown							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/547/17, 173; MJ/GB/R/02/70v
104	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Robert	Vokins	M	craftsman	haberdasher		St Katherine's						Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/93, 98; MJ/SB/R/2/288, 292. MJ/SB/P/001/68
105	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Nicholas	Humfry	M	craftsman	tailor		St Katherine's						Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/92, 98; MJ/SB/R/2/288, 292; MJ/SB/P/001/68
106	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Abraham	Hoose	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB/P/001/68
107	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Thomas	Hodges	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB/P/001/68
108	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Henry	Berkley	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
																				/P/001/68
109	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		William	Lee	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB/P/001/68
110	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Thomas	Miller	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB/P/001/68
111	1616	19	J	East Smithfield	East Smithfield		Michael	Fammill	M	unknown		East Smithfield							Thomas Fookes' house, gentleman	MJ/SR/548/98; MJ/SB/P/001/68
112	1617	20	J	Drury Lane	Westminster		Henry	Baldwin	M	unknown		Unknown							Christopher Beeston; Cockpit	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
113	1617	20	J	Drury Lane	Westminster		John	Grymes	M	unknown		Unknown							Christopher Beeston; Cockpit	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
114	1617	20	J	Drury Lane	Westminster		Christopher	Longe	M	unknown		Unknown							Christopher Beeston; Cockpit	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
115	1617	20	J	Drury Lane	Westminster		Christopher	Lewes	M	unknown		Unknown							Christopher Beeston; Cockpit	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
116	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Thomas	Coye	M	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe; Henry Bettes	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
117	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		John	Peirson	M	unknown		Unknown							Henry Bettes	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
118	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Eleanor	Piffe	F	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
119	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Susan	Forde	F	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
120	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Richard	Kemishe	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
121	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		William	Austen	M	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
122	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Joan	Danyell	F	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
123	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		William	Trehearne	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
124	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Peter	Johnson	M	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe; Henry Bettes	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
125	1617	21	J	Whitechapel	Stepney		Thomas	Tales	M	unknown		Unknown							Richard Loe; Henry Bettes	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
126	1617	22	J	Finsbury Prison	Finsbury		Richard	Wilson	M	unknown		Finsbury							Finsbury Prison	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
127	1617	22	J	Finsbury Prison	Finsbury		Robert	Hutchins	M	unknown		Finsbury							Finsbury Prison	MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
128	1617		J	Unknown			Richard	Joanes	M	yeoman		Westminster								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
129	1617		J	Unknown			William	Jessoppe	M	craftsman	shoemaker	Holborne	St Andrew							MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
130	1617		J	Unknown			John	Kidney	M	craftsman	clothworker	London		Distaffe Lane						MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
131	1617		J	Unknown			Robert	Harvy	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
132	1617		J	Unknown			Henry	Bleake	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
133	1617		J	Unknown			John	Vergo	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
134	1617		J	Unknown			Andrew	Watson	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
135	1617		J	Unknown			Richard	Sandes	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
136	1617		J	Unknown			William	Perkins	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
137	1617		J	Unknown			Adam	Drynge	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
138	1617		J	Unknown			William	Kempe	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
139	1617		J	Unknown			John	Pennye	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
140	1617		J	Unknown			Thomas	Prowse	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
141	1617		J	Unknown			John	Gallant	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Westminster								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
142	1617		J	Unknown			Thomas	Snowden	M	craftsman	tailor	London		Tower Street						MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
143	1617		J	Unknown			Edward	Ledgingham	M	craftsman	tailor	London		Tower Street						MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
144	1617		J	Unknown			Edward	Taylor	M	craftsman	baker	Clerkenwell								MJ/GB/R/02/113-115
145	1617		J	Unknown			Edmond	Parsons	M	craftsman	baker		St Katherine							MJ/SR/0558/26, 60; MJ/SR/0559/125; MJ/GB/R/02/117, 118v, 126.
146	1618	23	J	Unknown			John	Tompkinson	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
147	1618	23	J	Unknown			Thomas	Sheppard e	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
148	1618	23	J	Unknown			Edward	Draper	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
149	1618	23	J	Unknown			Robert	Keele	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
150	1618	23	J	Unknown			Robert	Lyllie	M	craftsman	carpenter	London		Portpool Lane						MJ/SB/R/02/487, 491
151	1618	23	J	Unknown			Thomas	Rayner	M	servant		Clerkenwell			Sir Philip	Knevitt	knight			MJ/SB/R/02/487, 491
152	1618	23	J	Unknown			Henry	Vynes	M	servant		London		Shoe Lane	Edward	Baylie	gilder			MJ/SB/R/02/487, 491, 500
153	1618	23	J	Unknown			Henry	Garrett	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
154	1618	23	J	Unknown			Edmund	Pelham	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
155	1618	23	J	Unknown			Thomas	Hunsdon	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
156	1618	23	J	Unknown			Robert	Fernell	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
157	1618	23	J	Unknown			John	Ridgway	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
158	1618	23	J	Unknown			Thomas	Prentice	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
159	1618	23	J	Unknown			Nicholas	Harrison	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SB/R/02/487
160	1618	23	J	Unknown			Charles	Martyn	M	masterless		Unknown								BCB 6/30
161	1618	24	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Robert	Cartroll	M	craftsman	spurrier	London	St Botolph's without Aldgate						Thomas Eagles Vinter's House	MJ/SR/0563/5, 103; MJ/SB/R/2/495; MJ/SB/P/01/125; MJ/GB/R/02/143v, 144v
162	1618	24	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Edward	Greene	M	unknown		Hoxton							Thomas Eagles Vinter's House	MJ/SR/0563/5, 103; MJ/SB/R/2/495; MJ/SB/P/01/125; MJ/GB/R/02/143v, 144v
163	1618	24	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Jasper	Ploder	M	unknown		Hoxton							Thomas Eagles Vinter's House	MJ/SR/0563/5, 103; MJ/SB/R/2/495; MJ/SB/P/01/125; MJ/GB/R/02/143v, 144v

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
164	1618	25	J	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Westminster		Richard	Lowch	M	craftsman	cook	Westminster	St Clement's Danes						Locuh's house rented by Bridgit Passmore	MJ/SR/0563/65, 69; MJ/SB/R/2/493, 500.
165	1618	26	J		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	John	Evans	M	craftsman	victualer	Westminster	St Clement's Danes						He harboured those who committed the riot at Bridget Pasmore's house (suspected bawd)	MJ/SR/0563/31; MJ/SB/R/02/495, 496
166	1619	27	J	Brideward?			Dayell	Goodwin	M	apprentice		Unknown								BCB 6/98
167	1619	27	J	Unknown			George	Coles	M	unknown		Unknown								BCB 6/98v
168	1619	27	J	Unknown			Thomas	Sheppard e	M	unknown		Unknown								BCB 6/98v
169	1619	27	J	Unknown			Edward	Blanes	M	unknown		Unknown								BCB 6/98v
170	1620	28	J	Unknown			John	Crowe	M	unknown		Southwark?								MJ/SR/0584/45; MJ/GB/R/2/202v
171	1620	28	J	Unknown			John	Batchler	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SR/0584/44; MJ/GB/R/2/202v
172	1620	28	J	Unknown			Richard	Wilkinson	M	craftsman	tailor	London	St Martin Outwich	Old Exchange						MJ/SR/0584/85; MJ/GB/R/2/202v
173	1620	28	J	Unknown			Thomas	Cryer	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Southwark	ST Olave's							MJ/SR/0584/91; MJ/GB/R/2/202v
174	1620	28	J	Unknown			William	Gower?	M	craftsman	wheelwright	Clerkenwell		Old Street						MJ/SR/0584/93
175	1620	28	J	Unknown			John	Jefferson	M	craftsman	miller	Wandsworth, Surrey								MJ/SR/0584/90; MJ/GB/R/2/202v

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
176	1621	29	J	Unknown			John	Silke	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SR/0595/81
177	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Jones?	Doxy	M	unknown		Unknown						1000	Man named Normanville and his household	MJ/SR/0611/183
178	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Thomas	Barthole mew	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Unknown						1000	Ditto	MJ/SR/0611/183
179	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Richard	Haghers?	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Unknown						1000	Ditto	MJ/SR/0611/183
180	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Lynn	?	M	craftsman	clothworker	Unknown						1000	Ditto	MJ/SR/0611/183
181	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Thomas	Beanes	M	craftsman	locksmith	Unknown						1000	Ditto	MJ/SR/0611/183
182	1623	30	J	Hoxton	Hoxton		Margareta	Ransdale	F	unknown		Unknown						1000	Ditto	MJ/SR/0611/183
183	1624	31	J	Finsbury	Finsbury	St Giles without Cripplegate Middlesex	Thomas	Addie	M	yeoman		Finsbury	St Giles without Cripplegate						Thomas Crampton victualler?	MJ/SR/0624/132
184	1624	31	J	Finsbury	Finsbury	St Giles without Cripplegate Middlesex	Nicholas	Beesney	M	yeoman		Finsbury							Thomas Crampton victualler?	MJ/SR/0624/255
185	1626	32	C	Moorefields	Finsbury		George	Barrett	M	unknown		Unknown							Tumults around the windmills	BCB/6/414v
186	1627	33	C	Tower Hill	London		John	Goodladd	M	craftsman	innholder	London						500	Trinity House	CLC/526/MS30045/002, fo. 20
187	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		Randulphe	Willye	M	craftsman	victualer	Stepney		Wapping Wall				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0677/61; MJ/SR/0678/22
188	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		Daniel	Crosse	M	sailor	mariner	Stepney		Wapping Wall				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0677/62; MJ/SR/0678/22
189	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		Arthur	Brampton	M	yeoman		Stepney		Wapping				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0678/22

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
190	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		Willus	Rettleborough	M	yeoman		Stepney		Wapping				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0678/22
191	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		Thomas	Wye	M	yeoman		Stepney		Wapping				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0678/22, 27
192	1628	34	C	Wapping	Stepney		John	Edwards	M	yeoman		Stepney		Wapping				300	John Hooper's house	MJ/SR/0678/22, 27
193	1628	35	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Nathaniel	Grymwood	M	craftsman	shipcarpenter	Stepney		Wapping				diverse others unknown	Francis Flood's house	Mj/SR/0677/63
194	1628	35	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Edmond	Grymwood	M	craftsman	shipcarpenter	Stepney		Wapping				ditto	Francis Flood's house	Mj/SR/0677/64
195	1628	35	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		John	Mylls	M	servant		Stepney		Wapping	John	Furlonger	vintiner	ditto	Francis Flood's house	Mj/SR/0677/65
196	1628	35	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Henrie	Hopkyns	M	craftsman	shipcarpenter	Stepney		Wapping				ditto	Francis Flood's house	MJ/SR/0677/66
197	1628	35	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		James	Smith	M	craftsman	shipcarpenter	Stepney		Wapping				ditto	Francis Flood's house	MJ/SR/0677/67
198	1628	36	C	St John's Street	Clerkenwell		John	Dawes	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell		St John's Street				20	Richard Franklyn	MJ/SR/0678/33
199	1628	36	C	St John's Street	Clerkenwell		John	Robinson	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell		St John's Street				20	Richard Franklyn	MJ/SR/0678/33

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
200	1629	37	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Richard	Birkerstaffe	M	unknown		Unknown							Thomas Nurse's house, blacksmith	MJ/SR/0692/13
201	1629	37	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Henrie	Gibbs	M	craftsman	feltmaker		St Katherine's						Thomas Nurse's house, blacksmith	MJ/SR/0692/64
202	1629	37	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		James	Weaver?	M	labourer		Stepney		Ratcliffe				100	Thom Tickud, constable? And George Setley	MJ/SR/0693/33
203	1629	37	C	Ratliffe Highway	Stepney		Dorothy	Strange	F	wife		Stepney		Ratcliffe	Francis	Strange	tobacco pipe seller		Philip Harpley's house. Brewer	MJ/SR/0694/85, MJ/SB/R/5/6, 18
204	1629	38	C	Whitecross Street	Clerkenwell		Christopher	Pollett	M	labourer		London	St Sepulchre's						Samuel Harman's house	MJ/SR/0692/142
205	1629	38	C	Whitecross Street	Clerkenwell		Richard	Goodden/ Goodwyn	M	yeoman		Unknown							Samuel Harman's house	MJ/SR/0692/142
206	1629	38	C	Whitecross Street	Clerkenwell		Richard	H?	M	unknown		Unknown							Samuel Harman's house	MJ/SR/0692/142
207	1629	39	C	Little Moorefields	London		James	Langton	M	unknown		Unknown								BCB/07/112
208	1629	39	C	Little Moorefields	London		Brigett	Gibbs	F	unknown		Unknown								BCB/07/112
209	1629	39	C	Little Moorefields	London		Alice	Spencer	F	vagrant		Unknown								BCB/07/112

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
210	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		Robert	Nicholls	M	servant		London		Cowlane	Edward	Webster	coachmaker	100	Randolph Jupon of St Johnstreete grocer	MJ/SR/0740/30, 103, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
211	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		William	Sole	M	servant		London		Cowlane	Joseph	Sole	harnessmaker	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0740/30, 100, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
212	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		Alexander	Fivefield	M	servant		London		Cowlane	Richard	Adams	stationer	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0740/30, 104, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
213	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		John	Earnsby	M	servant		London		Cowlane	John	Collins	carmaker	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0740/30, 101, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
214	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		Edward	Gare	M	servant		London		Cowlane	John	Turnpenny	coachmaker	100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0740/30, 102, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
215	1632	40	C	Cowcrosse Street	Clerkenwell		Edward	Hutchinson	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell		Cowcrosse St				100	Ditto	MJ/SR/0740/30, 115, 192; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
216	1632	41	C		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	Robert	Walters	M	craftsman	shoemaker	London	St Dunstan in the West						Edward Print's House	MJ/SR/0740/52
217	1632	41	C		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	Edward	Wright	M	craftsman	carpenter	London		Holborne					Edward Print's House	MJ/SR/0740/53, 191;MJ/SB/P/003/19r

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
218	1632	41	C		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	Ezekiel	Anston	M	craftsman	dyer	Unknown							Edward Print's House	MJ/SR/0740/191;MJ/SB/P/003/19r
219	1632	41	C		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	William	Whitbye	M	craftsman	tailor	Westminster	St Clement Danes						Edward Print's House	MJ/SR/0740/54, 191; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
220	1632	41	C		Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	Elias	Carter	M	yeoman		Westminster		Holborne					Edward Print's House	MJ/SR/0740/55, 191; MJ/SB/P/003/19r
221	1632	42	C		Westminster		Thomas	Robinson	M	craftsman	cook	Westminster	St Clement Danes						Robert and Mary Hearinge's house	MJ/SR/NS/33/48,51
222	1632	42	C		Westminster		Anthony	Bibb	M	craftsman	cook	Westminster	St Clement Danes						Ditto	MJ/SR/NS/33/48,51
223	1633	43	C	Unknown			Willliam	Walton	M	unknown		Unknown								MJ/SR/0758/76
224	1633	43	C	Unknown			Edward	Jacob	M	craftsman	upholster	Westminster		Drury Lane					Officers and watchmen	MJ/SR/0758/146
225	1633	43	C	Unknown			Michael	Robinson	M	yeoman		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						Officers and watchmen	MJ/SR/0758/151
226	1633	43	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Thomas	White	M	unknown		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						Robert Lord's house	MJ/SR/NS/37/60
227	1634	44	C		Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields	Jeremy	White	M	craftsman	tailor	Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Waugh's house, a 'poor man'	MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174
228	1634	44	C		Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields	Richard	Horneby	M	craftsman	tailor	Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						Ditto	MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
229	1634	44	C		Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields	Richard	Hughes	M	craftsman	cordewayner	Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						Ditto	MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174
230	1634	44	C		Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields	Richard	Sanders	M	craftsman	tallow-chandler	Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						Ditto	MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174
231	1634	44	C		Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields	Miles	Watersly	M	yeoman		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Waugh's house, a 'poor man'	MJ/SR/NS/39/158, 174
232	1635	45	C	Unknown			Richard	Wilson	M	servant		Clerkenwell			unknown	unknown	brewer		Thomas Barton who was arresting someone for ST misdemeanors	MJ/SR/0792/80
233	1636	46	C	Turnmill Street	Clerkenwell		Anthony	Bloome	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell		Cowcross e St					Fighting with William Dawson	MJ/SR/0807/53
234	1636	47	C	Ely Place			Thomas	Hatfield	M	unknown		Unknown							Attempting to make tumult at Ely House while King and Queen were there	BCB/08/80v
235	1636	47	C	Ely Place			Thomas	Hallat	M	unknown		Unknown							Ditto	BCB/08/80v
236	1636	47	C	Ely Place			John	Lovell	M	unknown		Unknown							Ditto	BCB/08/80v
237	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Charles	Romford	M	magistrate	underbailiff	Westminster	St Martin's in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118
238	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		John	Moores	M	yeoman		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
239	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Thomas	?	M	craftsman	tailor	Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118
240	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Elizabeth	Man	F	spinster		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118
241	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Elizabeth	Hoope	F	widow		Westfinster	St Martin in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118
242	1637	48	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Thomas	Barnes	M	landlord		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields						William Carwardyn's House	WJ/SR/NS/46/4; 47/118
243	1637	49	C	Covent Garden	Westminster		Thomas	Perrye	M	yeoman		London	St Bartholomew the Great						Ann Pike's house	WJ/SR/NS/47/95
244	1638	50	C	Long Acre	Westminster		Thomas	Hovanes	M	footman		Westminster	St Martin in the Fields					200/300	House in Long Acre	WJ/SR/NS/51/137
245	1641	51	C	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	William	Swelth	M	craftsman	cordewayner	Westimnster	St Andrew Holborn?						John Howly's house, vintner	MJ/SR/0890/29
246	1641	51	C	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	James	Grymsditch	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Westimnster	St Martin in the Fields						John Howly's house, vintner	MJ/SR/0890/73
247	1641	51	C	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Westminster	St Giles in the Fields	Francis	Lockley	M	craftsman	blacksmith	Westminster	St Giles in the Fields						John Howly's house, vintner	MJ/SR/0890/74
248	1641	51	C	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Westminster	S Giles in the fields	William	Maior	M	unknown		Unknown							John Howly's house, vintner	MJ/SR/0890/74
249	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	William	Rash	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell						Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/112, 130
250	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	Thomas	Loe	M	craftsman	cordewayner	London	St Alphage						Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/112, 130
251	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	Matthew	Crouch	M	yeoman		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell						Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/112, 130

#	Year of Riot	Riot #	Reign	Riot Location	Suburb/city	Parish	Rioter Name	Rioter Surname	M/F	Status	Craft/Trade	Residence	Parish	Street	Master Name	Master Surname	Master Profession	No. of Rioters	Target/Victims	Sources
252	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	Robert	Brimbath	M	craftsman	weaver	London	St Giles Cripplegate						Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/112, 130
253	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	James	Crouch	M	yeoman		Unknown							Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/113, 130
254	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	John	Sweeting	M	yeoman		Unknown							Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/114, 130
255	1641	52	C		Clerkenwell	St James Clerkenwell	William	Butterton	M	craftsman	pewterer	Unknown							Katherine Hart's house, widow	MJ/SR/0890/114, 130

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

England

BRISTOL RECORD OFFICE (BRO**)**

Mayor and Aldermen’s Committee
M/BCC/MAY/1//1/… Orders of Mayor and Aldermen, 1653-60

Seyer Collections
44954/1/5 Three Calendars of Local Events, 1216-1688
44954/2/4 Miscellaneous Bristol History, 1216-1825

CARLISLE RECORD OFFICE (CRO)

City of Carlisle
CA/4/3 Chamberlain Accounts, 1649-1694
CA/4/4 Chamberlain Accounts, 1695-1727

Shoemaker’s Guild
DGC 2/1 Memoranda book, 1595-1732

CHESTER, CHESHIRE & CHESTER ARCHIVES & LOCAL STUDIES (CCALS)

Chester Assembly
ZAB/2 Assembly Book, 1624-1685
ZAB/3 Assembly Book, 1684-1724

Treasurer
ZTAR/3/52 Account Roll, 1655-6
ZTAR/3/54 Account Roll, 1663-4
ZTAR/3/55 Account Roll, 1668-9
ZTAR/3/58 A Account Roll, 1672 Jan-Oct

ZTAB/1 Account Book, 1683-99,
ZTAB/2 Account Book, 1703-14

KEW, THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES (TNA)

Duchy of Lancaster
DL/28/… Household and Wardrobe Accounts
DL/29/… Various Manorial Accounts

Records of the Exchequer
E 101/… Various Medieval/Tudor Household Accounts
E 315/… Various Manorial Custumals

E 36/215 King's Book of Payments, 1509-1518
E 36/216 King's Book of Payments, 1517-21
E 36/217 Revels Accounts, 1509-1521
E 36/229 Revels Accounts, 1520-1
E 36/256 Thomas Cromwell's Receipt Book, 1536-40

Records of itinerant Justices [via AALT]
JUST/1… Justices of Assize

Special Collections
SC 6/… Various Medieval Manorial Accounts

State Papers [via State Papers Online]
SP 1/18 Revels Accounts, 1519
SP 1/29 Revels Accounts, 1521
SP 1/41 Revels Accounts, 1527
SP 14/… Various from Domestic series, James I
SP 52… Various from Secretaries of State, Scotland

LONDON, BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND (BMM)

Bridewell Hospital Minutes of the Court of Governors [accessed online at http://archives.museumofthemind.org.uk/BCB.htm#BCB-12]
BCB 1/… Courtbook, 1559-62
BCB 2/… Courtbook, 1574-6
BCB 3/… Courtbook, 1576-9
BCB 4/… Courtbook, 1597-1604
BCB 5/… Courtbook, 1604-10
BCB 6/… Courtbook, 1617-26
BCB 7/… Courtbook, 1627-34
BCB 8/… Courtbook, 1634-42
BCB 9/… Courtbook, 1642-58

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY (BL)

Add. MS 45716 A Ordinance Collection for Henry VIII's Court
Add. MS 27451 Household Accounts, Sir Thomas L'Estrange, 1526-7
Egerton MS. 3026 Description of Edward VI's Coronation tournaments

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES (LMA)

Corporation of London Records
COL/CC/01/01/… Journals of the Court of Common Council
COL/CA/01/01/… Repertories of the Court of Aldermen

London Bridge Accounts
CLA/007/FN/03/01 Bridge-Masters' Weekly Payments, 1404-1412
CLA/007/FN/03/02 Bridge-Masters' Weekly Payments, 1412-1421

Middlesex Sessions Records

MJ/SR/…	Middlesex Sessions Rolls, 1549-1889
MJ/SB/R/…	Sessions of the Peace Registers, 1607/08-1667
MJ/GB/R/…	Sessions of the Gaol Delivery, 1608-1672
MJ/SB/P/001-3	Process Register of Charges, 1610 Apr-1640 Dec
WJ/SR/NS/…	Westminster Sessions Rolls, 1619-1640

Plea and Memoranda Rolls

CLA/024/01/02/19	Court Roll A18, 1372-3
CLA/024/01/02/041	Court Roll A40, 1408-9

Trinity House Corporation Records

CLC/526/MS30045/002	Transactions and Minutes, 1626-1635

Brewer's Company Records (held in Guildhall Library)

CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440	Memorandum Book and Master Accounts, 1414-1440

WIGAN ARCHIVES AND LOCAL STUDIES

D/D An/Bundle 67/19	Letter from Luke Hodgkinson to Hugh Anderton, c.1644.

Ireland

DUBLIN CITY ARCHIVES (DCA)

Dublin Assembly

MR/35	Treasurer's Accounts 1540-1613
MR/36	Treasurer's Accounts 1651-1717

Scotland

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND (NLS)

Hammermen Incorporation of Perth

MS 19239-19244/…	Minute Books and other records, 1518-1893

Wright Incorporation of Perth

MS 19288-19289/…	Minute Books and other records, 1519-1670

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND (NRS)

Royal Household Accounts

E 31/1-8	James V, Household Books, 1525-1539

E 32/1-3 James IV and V, Household Expenditure, 1511-1534
E 33/1-4 Mary of Guise, 1539-1553
E 33/6-9 Mary Queen of Scots, 1562-1565

Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane
GD112/35/11 Account for January 1665

Gilmour Family of Craigmillar
GD122/3/1/56 Household Accounts, 1671-3

GLASGOW CITY ARCHIVES (GCA)

Burgh Council and Treasurer
C1/1/1 Minute Book, 19 Jan 1574- 12 May 1581
C1/1/3 Minute Book, 22 Oct 1588- 31 July 1590

PERTH AND KINROSS COUNCIL ARCHIVES (PKCA)

Bakers Incorporation of Perth
MS92/… Minute Books, 1652-1973
Fleshers Incorporation of Perth
MS122/… Minute Books, 1603-1967
Glover Incorporation of Perth
MS67/… Minute Books, 1593-1904
Tailors Incorporation of Perth
MS70/… Minute Books, 1525-1940
Weaver Incorporation of Perth
MS (Unregistered document) Minute Book, 1671-1700

PERTH MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

Tailor Incorporation of Perth
Unnumbered MS Minute Book, c.1530-1754

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

EARLY ENGLISH BOOKS ONLINE (EEBO) http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home

Alexander Barclay, *The fyfte eglog of Alexandre Barclay of the cytezen and vplondyshman. Here after foloweth the prologe.* (London, 1518).

Ben Jonson, *The comicall satyre of euery man out of his humor* (London, 1600).

Ben Jonson, *Time vindicated to himselfe, and to his honors* (London, 1623).

The booke of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England (London, 1607).

The bragadocio, or, The bawd turn'd Puritan (London, 1691).

By the King. A proclamation, for restraint of killing, dressing, and eating of flesh in Lent, or on fish-dayes, appointed by the law to be observed (London, 1661).

The crafty whore: or, The mistery and iniquity of bawdy houses laid open (London 1658).

Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant notes upon Don Quixot* (London, 1654),

Elisha Coles, *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other artsand sciences* (London, 1677).

Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph. Bold Phanaticks now make room CHARLS the Second's coming home. As it was voted in the House of May-day last 1660. (London, 1660).

George Champion, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight A comedie* (London, 1606).

George Wilson, *The commendation of cockes, and cock-fighting VVherein is shewed, that cocke-fighting was before the comming of Christ* (London, 1607).

The honour of London apprentices (London, 1647).

Hugh Hare, Baron Coleraine, *La scala santa, or, A scale of devotions musical and gradual being descants on the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, in metre: with contemplations and collects upon them, in prose, 1670* (London, 1681).

James Harrington, *The common-wealth of Oceana* (London, 1656).

James Primerose, *Popular errours. Or the errours of the people in physick, first written in Latine by the learned physitian James Primrose Doctor in Physick*, (London, 1651).

John Marten, *Gonosologium novum: or, a new system of all the secret infirm and diseases, natural, accidental, and venereal in men and women, that defile and ruin the healths of themselves and their posterity, obstruct conjugal delectancy and pregnancy, with their various methods of cure.* (London, 1709).

John Stow, *The abridgement of the English Chronicle, first collected by M. Iohn Stow, and after him augmented with very many memorable antiquities, and continued with matters forreine and domesticall, vnto the beginning of the yeare, 1618*, ed. Edmund Howes (London, 1618).

John Taylor, *Iack a Lent his beginning and entertainment* (London, 1620).

John Taylor, *A bavvd A vertuous bawd, a modest bawd: as shee deserves, reproove, or else applaud* (London, 1635).

Labour in [vain], or, The taylor [no man] containing the lamentation of [his buxom] wife, for her hard usage and his [insuffieicney] (London, 1688).

Lent (London, 1661).

The mariage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, vpon Shrouesunday last VVith the shovves on land and water, before, and after the wedding, as also the maskes and reuells in his Highnes court, with the running at the ring, by the Kings Maiestie, the Palsegraue, Prince Charles, and diuers others of the nobilitie. (London, 1613).

Mercurius democritus, or, A true and perfect nocturnall (London, 1652-1654).

Noah Biggs, *Mataeotechnia medicinae praxeos, The vanity of the craft of physick, or, A new dispensatory wherein is dissected the errors, ignorance, impostures and supinities of the schools in their main pillars of purges, blood-letting, fontanels or issues, and diet, &c* (London, 1651).

Pasquils palinodia, and his progresse to the tauerne where after the suruey of the sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of poeticall sherry (London, 1619).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1665).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1672).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1673).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1674).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1677).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1681).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1682).

Poor Robin, An almanack after a new fashion (London, 1683).

Robert Blau, *Praxis oratoria vel suadela victrix containing some select orations (both in Latin and English) introducing one another; to each of which are subjoyned suitable citations out of good authors, for confirming of the several points, and a chorus relative to each subject, viz, diligence, mechanick arts, learning, Latine tongue, maternl [sic] indulgence, to which are added. An oration concerning the cocks and their game, declaimed yearly, at their solemn fighting, on shrove Tuesday. An inaugural oration of the victor, at Candlemass* (Edinburgh, 1696).

Robert Greene, *The Scottish historie of Iames the fourth* (London, 1598).

The scolding wives vindication: or, An answer to the cuckold's complaint. Wherein she shows what just reasons she had to exercise severity over her insufficient husband (London, 1689).

Shackerley Marmyon, *Hollands leaguer* (London, 1632).

A Shrove-Tvesday banqvet sent to the bishops in the tovver (London, 1642).

Shrovetyde (London, 1661).

Sir Thomas Elyot, *The castel of helth gathered and made by Syr Thomas Elyot knyghte, out of the chiefe authors of physyke, wherby euery mannemay knowe the state of his owne body, the preseruatio[n] of helthe, and how to instructe welle his physytion in syckenes that he be not deceyued,* (London, 1539).

Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britanicum A masque at White-Hall in the Banquetting-House, on Shrove-Tuesday-night, the 18. of February, 1633* (London, 1634).

Thomas Dangerfield, *Tho. Dangerfield's answer to a certain scandalous lying pamphlet entituled, Malice defeated,* (London, 1680).

Thomas Dekker, *The shomaker’s holiday*, (London, 1600)

Thomas Dekker, *The seuen deadly sinnes of London* (London, 1607).

Thomas Dekker , *North-vvard hoe* (London, 1607) .

Thomas Dekker, *A strange horse-race* (London, 1613).

Thomas Middleton, *The Inner-Temple masque* (London, 1619).

Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry vnited to as many of good huswiferie* (London, 1573).

True nevves from Norvvich, (1642).

W. Knox, *Thursday noon, being Feb. (26) 84/85 My dearest soul, Thou only preserver of my life…: Letter to his Mistress in the Country.* (London, 1689).

William Davenant, *Madagascar with other poems* (London, 1638).

William Davenant, *Salmacida Spoila. A Masque. Presented by the King and Queenes Majesties, at White-hall, On Tuesday the 21. Day of Janurary 1639* (London, 1640).

William Haskins, *Apollo shrouing composed for the schollars of the free-schoole of Hadleigh in Suffolke. And acted by them on Shrouetuesday, being the sixt of February, 1626* (London, 1627).

William Kethe, *A Sermon Preached at Blandford Forum* (London, 1570).

William Shakespeare, *The second part of Henrie the fourth* (London, 1600).

MODERN EDITIONS

The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston 1671-1707, eds. J. Foulis and A. W. C. Hallen (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1894).

Account rolls of the obedientiaries of Peterborough, ed. J. Greatrex (Northamptonshire Record Society, 33; 1984).

The Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbey, ed. S. F. Hockey (Camden Society, 4th ser. 16; London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1975).

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 13 vols. (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1877–1978).

Acts of the Privy Council of England, 46 vols.(London: HMSO, 1890-1964).

Annales Monastici. Vol. 3, Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia (A.D. 1-1297). Annales Monasterii De Bermundeseia (A.D. 1042-1432), ed. H. R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1866).

Annals of the Glover Incorporation of Perth, ed. G. Wilson, (Perth, 1905).

The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topograhpy, History, Biography, Customs and Manners, eds. T. Astle and F. Grose, 4 vols. (London, 1807).

A Ballad in Praise of London Prentices and What They Did at the Cockpit Play-House, in Drury Lane (1617) in *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades* ed. C. Mackay (1841), 94-7.

Bertrand de Salignac, *Correspondance diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon, ambassadeur de France en Angleterre de 1568 à 1575*, eds. C. P. Cooper and A.Teulet, 7 vols. (Paris and London: de Panchoucke, 1838-1840).

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 2, Edward I, ed. J. E. E. S. Sharp (London, 1906), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol2 [accessed 29 April 2016].

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625-49, 23 vols. (London: HMSO, 1858-97).

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II, 1660-85, 28 vols. (London: HMSO, 1860-1939).

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, 1649-60, 13 vols. (London: HMSO, 1875-86).

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1603-25, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1857-9).

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II, 1685-89, 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1960-72).

Calendar of State Papers Domestic, William III and Mary II, 1689-1702, 11 vols. (London: HMSO, 1895-1937).

Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, ed. A. B Hinds, 38 vols. (London: HMSO, 1924).

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh: Lords Commissioners, 1900).

Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), 1558-1603, ed. M. A. S. Hume, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1892-1899).

Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin in the Possession of the Municipal Corporation, ed. J. T. Gilbert and R. M. Gilbert, 18 vols. (Dublin: J. Dollard, 1889-1919).

Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1265-1259 (London: HMSO, 1932).

Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1231-1234 (London: HMSO, 1905).

Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, A.D. 1318-1323 (London: HMSO, 1895).

Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: HMSO, 1929), 150-162. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol2 [accessed 15 December 2018].

Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 3, 1381-1412, ed. A. H. Thomas (London: HMSO, 1932), 289-301. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol3 [accessed 15 December 2018].

The Charters, Ordinances, and Bye-laws of The Mercers' Company, (London: Wyman & Sons, 1881).

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, with the Register of Its House at Dunbrody and Annals of Ireland. Vol. 2, ed. J. T. Gilbert (London: Longman, 1884).

Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II: Volume 1, Annales Londonienses and Annales Paulini, ed. W. Stubbs (1882).

Compota Domestica Familiarum de Bukingham et d’Angouleme, ed. W. B. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836).

Compotus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester of the 14th and 15th Centuries, ed. S. G. Hamilton (Oxford, James Parker and Co. for the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1910).

County of Middlesex. Calendar To the Sessions Records: New Series, Volume 4, 1616-18, ed. W. Le Hardy (London, 1941), *British History Online*. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-sessions/vol4 [accessed 29 June 2015].

The Court and Times of James the First, ed. S. Dorothea, 2 vols. (London, 1848).

Custumals of Battle Abbey in the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II (1283-1312), ed. S. R. Scargill-Bird (London: Camden Society, 1887).

Custumals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishops of Canterbury, eds. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson (Sussex Record Society, 57; Cambridge: Sussex Record Society, 1958).

Diurnall of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland since the death of King James the Fourth till the year MDLXXV (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833).

Documents Illustrating the Rule of Water de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307, ed. B. F. Harvey (Camden Society, 4th ser. 2; 1965).

Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, ed. A. Feuillerat. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, vol. 21; Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1908).

Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary, ed. A. Feuillerat. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, vol. 44; Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1914).

Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until c. 1642, ed. A. J. Fletcher (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol. 1, 1573-1642, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1914). *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/glasgow-burgh-records/vol1 [accessed 28 March 2017].

Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London: G. Woodfall, 1809).

English Coronation Records, ed. L. G. W. Legg (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901).

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 22 vols. (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1878-1908).

Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. C. Fowler, 3 vols. (Publications of the Surtees Society, 99, 100, 103; Durham: Andrews & Co., 1898-1900).

Extracts from the Records of the Guildry Incorporation of Perth, Glover, Shoemaker, Tailor and Perthshire Registers, ed. R. S. Fillis (Perth, 1893).

Facsimile of First Volume of MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London, A.D. 1345-1463, ed. J. A. Kingdon, 2 vols. (London: Worshipful Company of Grocers, 1886).

Family and Society in Early Stuart Glamorgan: The Household Accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd, c.1565-1641, ed. L. Bowen (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 2006).

George Buchanan, 'Five Masques', in *The Philological Museum*, ed. and trans. D. F. Sutton, (University of Birmingham, 19 September 2005) http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#5 [accessed 12 November 2018].

George Chastellain, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891).

Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani: A Thoma Walsingham, Regnante Ricardo Secundo, Compilata. Volume 2, AD 1290–1349, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1867).

Gesta Grayorum, 1688, ed. W.W. Greg (Oxford: OUP for the Malone Society, 1914).

Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis: Containing Extracts from the Halmote Court or Manor Rolls of the Prior and Convent of Durham, A.D. 1296 - A.D. 1384, ed. W. H. Longstaffe and J. Booth (Publications of the Surtees Society, 82; Durham: Surtees Society, 1889).

The Hammermen Book of Perth, 1518-1568, ed. C. Hunt (Perth, 1889).

Henry Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares* (Newcastle, 1725).

Henry Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550-1563: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, eds. R. W. Bailey, M. Miller, and C. Moore https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/.

Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Gaufridus e Coldingham, Robertus de Graystanes, et Willielmus de Chambre (Surtees Society, 9; Edinburgh: Laing and Forbes, 1839).

Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 6, 1645-47, ed. J. Rushworth (London, 1722).

Historical Manuscripts Commission. Sixth Report: Part I, Report and Appendix (London: HMSO, 1877).

Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle. Vol I., LXIV (1888).

Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586, ed. S. Adams (Camden Fifth Ser., Vol. 6; Cambridge: CUP for the Royal Historical Society, 1995).

Household Accounts from Medieval England, ed. C. M. Woolgar, 2 vols. (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 17–18; Oxford: OUP, 1992–3).

Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412–Sept. 1413, ed. M. K. Dale and V. B. Redstone (Ipswich: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1931).

The Household Book of Queen Isabella of England, for the Fifth Regnal Year of Edward II, 8th July 1311 to 7th July 1312, eds. F. D. Blackley and G. Hermansen (University of Alberta Classical and Historical Studies, 1; Edmonton, Alta: University of Alberta Press, 1971).

Household books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481-90, ed. J. P. Collier (Roxburghe Club, 1844).

‘Household Roll of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury’, in A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Somerset Record Society Collectanea*, 1 (1924), 72-174.

Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France, ed. J. Robertson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1863).

John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. J. Britten (London: Folk-Lore Society, 1881).

John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (London: OUP, 1968).

John Chamberlain, *Letters*, ed. E. M. Thomson (London, 1965).

John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848).

John Lesley, *The History of Scotland: From the Death of King James I, in the Year M.CCCC.XXXVI, to the Year M.D.LXI* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830).

John Mirk, *Festial: A Collection of Homilies, Part 1*, ed. Theodor Erbe (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1905).

John Stow, *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. J. Strype (London, 1720).

Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, ed. W. Hone (London, 1838).

Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 4, 1629-42 (London, 1767-1830).

Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 5, 1642-1643 (London, 1767-1830).

The Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey, ed. J. Brownhill (Edinburgh: Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, 1914).

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3, 1519-1523, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: HMSO, 1867).

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1882), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol6 [accessed 21 August 2016].

Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth, ed. J. G. Nichols, 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club, 1857).

London Record Society 19, ed. G. G. Harris (London, 1983).

Malone Society Collections, Volume XIII: Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts, 1603-1642, ed. W. R. Streitberger (Oxford: Malone Society, 1986).

Manners and household expenses in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries ed. T. H. Turner (Roxburghe Club, 1841).

Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 57; London: Longman, 1872–83).

Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries, ed. H. T. Riley (London: Longman, Greens, 1868), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life [accessed 6 April 2017].

Middlesex County Records: Volume 1, 1550-1603 ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1886).

Middlesex County Records: Volume 2, 1603-25, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1887).

Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1888).

Middlesex County Records: Volume 4, 1667-88, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1892).

Oxfordshire Forests 1246-1609, ed. B. Schumer (Oxfordshire Record Society Series, 64; Oxford: Oxfordshire Record Society, 2004).

Placita de quo Warranto temporibus Edward I, II & III in Curia Receptae Scaccarij Westm. Asservata (London, 1818).

Poems of John Donne, ed. E. K. Chambers, 2 vols. (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1896).

Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York. Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth with a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes ed. N. H. Nicolas (London: William Pickering, 1830).

The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII, ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas (London: W. Pickering, 1827).

Records of Maidstone Being Selections from Documents in the Possession of the Corporation ed. K. S. Martin, (Maidstone, 1926).

The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, eds. K.M. Brown et al (St Andrews, 2007-2017) https://www.rps.ac.uk/ [accessed 17 October 2017].

Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286 eds. B. F. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1977).

Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289 eds. B. F. Byerly and C. R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1986).

REED: Cambridge, ed. A. H. Nelson, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

REED: Cheshire including Chester, eds. E. Baldwin, L. M. Clopper, and D. Mills, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

REED: Civic London to 1558, ed. A. Lancashire, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

REED: Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire, eds. A. Douglas and P. Greenfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

REED: Ecclesiastical London, ed. M. C. Erler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

REED: Herefordshire and Worcestershire, ed. D. N. Klausner, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

REED: Inns of Court, eds. A. H. Nelson and J. R. Elliott Jr, 3 vols (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010).

REED: Oxford, eds. J. R. Elliott, Jr, A. F. Johnston, A. H. Nelson, and D. Wyatt, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

REED: Somerset including Bath eds. J. Stokes and R. J. Alexander, 2 vols. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996).

The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1580-1593, ed. J. M. Thomson (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1888).

The Registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin: 1619 to 1699, ed. J. Mills (Dublin: Printed for the Parish Register Society of Dublin by A. Thom & Co, 1906).

The Regulations and Establishment of the Houshold of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at His Castles of Wresill and Lekinfield in Yorkshire. Begun Anno Domini M.D.XII, ed. T. Percy (London, 1770).

Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, eds. J. Chynoweth, N. Orme and A. Walsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society New Ser., 47, 2004).

Robert Health, *A Natural and Historical Account of the Isles of Scilly* (London: R. Manby and H.S. Cox, 1750).

Roll of divers accounts for the early years of the reign of Henry III, ed. F. A. Cazel (London: PRS new series 44, 1982).

A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, ed. J. Webb (Camden Society, 59 and 62; 1853-4).

Roger Whitley's Diary 1684-1697 Bodleian Library, Ms Eng Hist C 711, ed. M. Stevens and H. Lewington ([s.l.], 2004), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/roger-whitley-diary/1684-97/february-1695 [accessed 8 October 2017].

Rotuli de Libertate ac de Misis et Praetestis Regnante Johanne, ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1844).

Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati ed. T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commissioners, 1835).

The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine De' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564-6, eds. V. E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. (1970-83).

'The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth', in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* ed. W.J. Craig (London: OUP, 1914).

A Small Household of the XVth Century, ed. K. L. Wood-Legh (Manchester, 1965).

'South Warnborough, Hampshire 1302-3'. *REED Pre-publication Collections* ed. P. Greenfield, https://reedprepub.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/ swarnboroughprepub 1.pdf. [accessed 26/8/18].

The Statutes of the Realm ed. A. Luders, 11 vols. (London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1810-1828).

'The Tale of the Colkelbie Sow' in *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1822).

Thomas Deloney, *The Gentle Craft*, ed. A. F. Lange (Berlin: Mayer and Muller, 1903).

Thomas St. Serf, *Mercurius Caledonius. Comprising The Affairs now in Agitation in Scotland: With A Survey of Forreign Intelligence. From Friday February 22 to Friday March 1. 1661* (Edinburgh, 1661) https://mercuriuscaledonius.wordpress.com/ category/part-viii/ [accessed 23 November 2018].

Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III, ed. B. L. Wild (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2012).

The Weaver Records &c., ed. R. S. Fittis, (Perth, 1888).

The Westminster Chronicle: 1381-1394, eds. B. F. Harvey and L. C. Hector (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 8 vols. (London: Bohn, 1846).

William Dunbar, *The Complete Works*, ed. J. Conlee (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004).

William Fitzstephen, 'The Life of Saint Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr', trans. H. E. Butler, in F. M. Stenton (ed.) *Norman London* (London : G. Bell, for the Historical Association, 1934).

York Civic Records, Part 5, ed. A. Raine (Record Series vol. 110; York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1946).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Ademollo, A., *Il carnevale di Roma nel secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: A. Sommaruga, 1883).

Aebischer, P., 'Les Denominations du "Carnaval" d'apres les chartes italiennes du Moyen Age', in *Melanges de philology romane: Offerts a M. Karl Michaelsson par ses amis et ses eleves* (Goteborg: Bergendahls Boktryckeri, 1952).

Albala, K., *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Anglo, S., 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), 12-45.

Anglo, S., 'The Imperial Alliance and the Entry of the Emperor Charles V into London: June 1522', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 2, 4, (1962), 131-5.

Anglo, S., 'The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant, and Mask', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s., 1 (1968), 3-44.

Anglo, S., *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster: A Collotype Reproduction of the Manuscript* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

Anglo S., *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

Anker, V., 'The Uses of Ceremony: Performing Power in the First Civil War' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2016).

Archer, I. W., *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

Arnold, J., '*Lost from her Majesties Back'. Items of Clothing and Jewels Lost or Given away by Queen Elizabeth I between 1561 and 1585* (London: Costume Society, 1980).

Ashton, R., 'Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *London Journal*, 9, 1 (1983), 3-19.

Astington, J., *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

Axton, M., 'The Tudor Mask and Elizabethan Court Drama', in M. Axton and R. Williams (eds.), *English Drama: Form and Development* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 24-47.

Axton, R., 'Folk play in Tudor interludes', in M. Axton and R. Williams (eds.), *English Drama: Forms and Development* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), 1-23.

Axton, R., 'Festive Culture in Country and Town', in B. Ford (ed.) *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain, Vol. 2: Medieval Britain*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

Bailey, B. G., et al, 'Coming of Age and the Family in Medieval England', *Journal of Family History,* 33, 1 (2008), 41-60.

Bailey, M., *The English Manor c.1200- c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Bakhtin, M., *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

Banks, M. M., *British Calendar Customs: Scotland,* 3 vols. (London: W. Glaisher for the Folk-lore Society, 1937).

Barber R. W. and J. R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).

Barber, C. L., *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959).

Barker, J. R. V., *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986).

Barron, C. M, 'Eyre, Simon (c.1395–1458)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, January 2008 (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52246.

Barrow J. S. et al, 'Leisure and Culture: Chester Races', in A. T. Thacker and C. P. Lewis (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (London: Victoria County History, 2005), 255-260, *British History Online.* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ ches/vol5/pt2 /pp255-260 [accessed 15 December 2018].

Barrow, L. G., '"The Kynge Sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a Grett Tame Hart": Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV 1502-13', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 21, 1, (2004), 65–84.

Baxter, P., *The Shoemaker Incorporation of Perth: 1545 to 1925* (Perth).

Béhar, P. and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe = Histoire Du Spectactle En Europe 1580-1750* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

Beier, A. L., 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 9 (1978), 203-221.

Bell, C. M., *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Ben-Amos, I. K., *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

Bentley, G. E., *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage,* 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-68).

Bercé, Y., *Féte et Révolte. Des mentalitis populaires du xvie au xviiie siecle* (Paris: Hachette, 1976).

Bernheimer, R., *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1952).

Bevington, D. M. and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

Bevington, D. M., *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

Bijsterveld, A. A., *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Medieval Studies and Sources, 104; Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).

Billington, S., *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

Birrell, J., ‘Peasants Eating and Drinking’, *Agricultural History Review*, 63, 1 (2015), 1-18.

Boulton, J., ‘Economy of Time? Wedding Days and the Working Week in the past’, *Local Population Studies*, 43 (1989), 28-46.

Bourdieu, P., *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

Braddick, M. J. and J. Walter, ‘Introduction’ in M. J. Braddick and J. Walter (eds.), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 1-42.

Braddick, M. J., J. Walter and P. Withington (eds.), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, 26; Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

Brand, J., *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed. Sir H. Ellis, 3 vols. (London, 1853).

Brigden, S., ‘Youth and the English Reformation,’ *Past & Present*, 95 (1982), 37-67.

Bristol, M., ‘Carnival and Institutions of Theatre in Elizabethan England’, *ELH*, 50 (1983), 637-654.

Bristol, M., *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York, NY: Methuen, 1985).

Britland, K. R., ‘*Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006).

Buckland, T., and J. Wood (eds), *Aspects of British Calendar Customs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

Buettner, B., ‘Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400’, *Art Bulletin*, 83, (2001), 598-625.

Bullock-Davies, C., *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978).

Burke, P., *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978, rev. repr.; Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Burke, P., ‘Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century London,’ in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's, 1985), 32-58.

Burke, P., ‘The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe’, *Past & Present*, 146 (1995), 136-50.

Burke, P., *History and Social Theory* (2nd ed.; Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2005).

Burnett, J., *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

Burton, J. E., and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011).

Butler, L. and C. Given-Wilson, *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1979).

Butler, M., *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture.* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

Bynum, C. W. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987).

Capp, B. S., *Astrology and the Popular Press : English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (London: Faber, 1979).

Carlin, M., and J.T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998).

Carpenter, S., '"To thexaltacyon of noblesse" A Herald's Account of the Marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV', *Medieval English Theatre*, 29 (2007), 1-17.

Carpenter, S., 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *The Scottish Historical Review* 82, 214 (2003), 194-225.

Carpenter, S., 'Plays and Playcoats: A Courtly Interlude Tradition in Scotland?', *Comparative Drama*, 46, 4 (2012), 475-96.

Carpenter, S., 'The Royal Court of Scotland 1579-1585', *REED Pre-publication Collections*. https://reedprepub.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/james-vi-pre-pub-intro1.pdf. [accessed 7 Nov 2018].

Chambers, E. K., *The Medieval Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1903).

Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923).

Chambers, R., *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in Connection with the Calendar*, 2 vols. (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1859).

Chartier, R., 'Ritual and Print Discipline and Invention: The Fête in France from the Middle Ages to the Revolution', in J. B. Collins and K. L. Taylor (eds.), *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), 207-14.

Claridge, J. and J. Langdon, 'The Composition of *Famuli* Labour on English Demesnes, c.1300', *Agricultural History Review*, 63, 2 (2015), 187-220.

Cole, M. H., *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

Collins, E., 'Repertory and Riot: The Relocation of Plays from the Red Bull to the Cockpit Stage,' *Early Theatre,* 13 (2010), 132-49.

Cook, A. J., *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576–1642* (Princeton NJ, 1981).

Cooper, J. H., ‘The Coverts: Part I’, in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, Volume 46* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1903).

Cope, S., ‘Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England’, *Early Modern Studies,* 6 (2017), 89-111.

Cormack, W., ‘Playing By the Rules?: Early Modern Sport and Control in the Northern Mainland Royal Burghs of Scotland’, *Sport in History*, 36.3 (2016), 305-27.

Cornell, D., ‘A Kingdom Cleared of Castles: The Role of the Castle in the Campaigns of Robert Bruce’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 87.2, 224 (2008), 233–257.

Creasy, E. S., *Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College and of The Past and Present Condition of the School* (London: Longman, 1848).

Cressy, D., *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

Cressy, D., *Birth, Marriage, and Death Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).

Crombie, L., ‘Honour, Community and Hierarchy in the Feasts of the Archery and Crossbow Guilds of Bruges, 1445–81’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 102–113.

Crouch, D., *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005).

Curran, K., ‘James I and Fictional Authority at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations’, *Renaissance Studies*, 20, 1 (2006), 51-67.

Curran, K., *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Compnay, 2009).

Curry, G., and E. Dunning, *Association Football: A Study in Figurational Sociology* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015).

Curth, L., *English Almanacs, Astrology, and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (Manchester, 2007).

Davidson, C., *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Davis, N. Z., *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975).

Davis, N. Z., *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

Davis, N. Z., ‘Writing “The Rites of Violence” and Afterward’, *Past & Present*, 214, Suppl. 7 (2012), 8-29.

Dawson, M. S., ‘Astrology and the Human Variation in Early Modern England’, *Historical Journal*, 56, 1, (2013).

de Roos, M., ‘Battles and Bottles: Shrovetide Performances in the Low Countries (c.1350-c.1550)’, in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 167-9.

Dees, R. P., ‘Economics and Politics of Peasant Production in south Germany, 1450-1650’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, UCLA, 2007).

Delter, K., *The Tower of London in English Renaissance Drama: Icon of Opposition* (New York: Routledge,2008).

Dillon, J., (ed.), *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 2002).

Dillon, J., *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).

Dimmock, M. and A. Hadfield (eds.), *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Ditchfield, P. H., and W. Page (eds.), *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 2*, (eds.) (London, 1907), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol [accessed 3 May 2018]).

Doran, S., ‘Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581’, *Historical Journal*, 38, 2 (1995), 257-274.

Doran, S., *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Douglas, A. and S. MacLean (eds.), *REED in Review: Essays in Celebration of the First Twenty-five Years* (Studies in Early English Drama, 8; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (London: Yale University Press , 1992).

Durston, C., ‘Lords of Misrule,’ *History Today* (1985).

Dyer, C., ‘Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Harvest Workers’, *Agricultural History Review*, 36 (1988), 21-37.

Dyer, C., *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200–1520* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

Dyer, T. F. T. *British Popular Customs, Present and Past* (London: G. Bell, 1875).

Dymond, D., ‘A Lost Social Institution: The Camping Close’, *Rural History* 1, 2 (1990), 165-192.

Earle, P., *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London, 1989).

Evans, J., *Aphrodisiacs, Fertility and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

Fairman, P. S., ‘“The Bewties of the Fut-Ball”: Reactions and References to This Boysterous Sport in English Writings, 1175-1815’, *Estudios Ingleses De La Universidad Complutense*, 2 (1994), 47-57.

Farmer, D., ‘The *Famuli* in the Later Middle Ages’, in R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 207-36.

Farrer, O. W., ‘The Marblers of Purbeck’, *Papers Read before the Purbeck Society* (Wareham, 1859-60), 192-7.

Finlay, R. and B. Shearer, ‘Population Growth and Suburban Expansion’, in A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), 37-59.

Fitch G. and S. Orgel (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

Fitter, C., ‘The quarrel is between our masters and us their men: *Romeo and Juliet*, Dearth, and the London Riots’, *English Literary Renaissance* 30 (2000), 154-163.

Fletcher, A. J., ‘The Civic Pageantry of Corpus Christi in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Dublin’, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 23 (1996), 73-96.

Fletcher, A. J., *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Fletcher, J. M. and C. A. Upton, ‘The Cost of Undergraduate Study at Oxford in the Fifteenth Century: The Evidence of the Merton College “Founder's Kin”’, *History of Education*, 14.1 (1985), 1-20.

Fradenburg, L. O., *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991).

Fraser, A., *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969).

Gaignebet, C. and S. Kinser, ‘Les Combats de Carnaval et de Careme: trajets d’une metaphore’, *Annales, economies, societies, civilisations*, 38, 1 (1983), 65-98

Gash, A., ‘Carnival Against Lent: The Ambivalence of Medieval Drama’, in D. Aers (ed.), *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology & History* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1986), 87-94.

Geck, J. A., ‘“On yestern day, in Feverere, the yere passeth fully”: On the Dating and Prosopography of Mankind’, *Early Theatre*, 12.2 (2009), 33–56.

Goffman, E., *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre, 1956).

Goodare, J., ‘Mary [Mary Stewart] (1542–1587), queen of Scots’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. 24 May 2007 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18248.

Goulstone, J., ‘Football’s Secret History –chapters 2 and 3’, *Soccer and Society*, 19.1 (2018), 35-49.

Greenfield, P., ‘Festive Drama at Christmas in Aristocratic Households’, in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 34-40.

Greenfield, P., ‘The Carnivalesque in the Robin Hood Games and King Ales of Southern England’ in K. Eisenbichler and W. Husken (eds.), *Carnival and the Carnivalesque: The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman, and Others in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 19-28.

Greig, E. F., 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany [known as Lord Darnley] (1545/6–1567), second consort of Mary, queen of Scots', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, 3 January 2011 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26473.

Griffin, E., 'Popular Culture in Industrialising England', *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 619–35.

Griffin, E., *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).

Griffiths, P., *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Gurevich, A., *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. J. M. Bak and P. A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

Hadfield, A., M. Dimmock, and A. Shinn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

Hallam, H. E., 'The Worker's Diet', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume II 1042-1350*, ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 825-844.

Hanawalt, B. A. and K. L. Reyerson, *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

Hanawalt, B., *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford: OUP, 1993)

Harris, T., *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987).

Harris, T., (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

Harvey, A., *Football: The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2005)

Harvey, B. F., 'Work and *Festa Ferianda* in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), 289-308.

Harvey, P. D. A., *Manorial Records* (London: British Records Association, 1984).

Hassel, R. C., *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

Hayward, M., 'Gift-giving at the Court of Henry VIII: The 1539 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), 125-175.

Heal, F., *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

Heal, F., 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 199, 1 (2008), 41-70.

Heal, F., *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).

Healy, S., 'BULKELEY (BULKLEY), Sir Richard (1535/41-1621)', in A. Thrush and J. P. Ferris (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2010) https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bulkeley-sir-richard-153541-1621#footnoteref31_awrr6w1 [accessed on 11 November 2018].

Hennessey, O., ‘A Serious Kind of Laughter: Shakespeare's Grief and Mardi Gras 2006’, *Borrowers and Lenders: the Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2, (Oct 2010), 1-11.

Herman, P., ‘Hall, Edward (1497–1547), lawyer and historian’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, January 2012 (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11954.

Hermanson, L., ‘Introduction: Performative Power, Ritual, and Political Order in Northern Europe c. 650-1350’, in L. Hermanson, W. Jezierski, T. Småberg, H. J. Orning (eds.), *Rituals, Performatives, and Political Order in Northern Europe, C. 650-1350*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 1-40.

Hill, T., ‘Festival’, in A. Hadfield et al (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge , 2014), 43-57.

Hill, T., *Pageantry and Power* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Hindle, S., ‘Custom, Festival and Protest in Early Modern England: The Little Budworth Wakes, St Peter's Day, 1596’, *Rural History*, 6, 2 (1995), 155-78

Hobsbawm, E., ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).

Hockey, S. F., *Beaulieu, King John's Abbey: A History of Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire, 1204-1538* (Beaulieu: Pioneer Publications, 1976).

Homans, G. C., *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942).

Hone, N. J., *The Manor and Manorial Records* (London: Methuen 1906).

Hornback, R., ‘The Reasons of Misrule Revisited: Evangelical Appropriations of Carnival in Tudor Revels’, *Early Theatre* 10, 1 (2007), 35-65.

Hornby, H., *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008).

Huizinga, J., *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955).

Humphrey, C., ‘“To Make a New King”: Seasonal Drama and Local Politics in Norwich, 1443’, *Medieval English Theatre*, 17 (1995), 29-41.

Humphrey, C., ‘The World Upside-Down in Theory and as Practice: A New Approach to the Study of Medieval Misrule’, *Medieval English Theatre*, 21 (1999), 5-20.

Humphrey, C., *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001).

Hunt, A., *The Drama of Coronation Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

Hutton, R., *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: OUP, 1994).

Hutton, R., ‘The English Reformation and the Evidence of Folklore’, *Past and Present* 148, 1 (1995), 89-116.

Hutton, R., *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 1996).

Hutton, R., ‘Seasonal Festivity in Late Medieval England: Some Further Reflections’, *English Historical Review*, 120 (2005), 66-79.

Ingram, M., ‘Ridings, Rough Music and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, 105, 1 (1984), 79-113.

James, M., ‘Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town’, *Past & Present*, 98 (1983), 3-29.

Jensen, P., *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

Jewell, K., ‘Festive Culture in Pre-Reformation Rural Suffolk’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2014).

Jezierski, W., et al. (eds.) *Rituals, Performatives, and Political Order in Northern Europe, C. 650-1350* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

Jones, A., ‘Harvest Customs and Labourers' Perquisites in Southern England, 1150–1350’, *Agricultural History Review*, 25 (1977), 14–22.

Jones, M., ‘Engraved Works Recorded in the “Stationers’ Register”, 1562-1656: A Listing and Commentary’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 64 (2002), 1-68.

Jones-Davies, M. T., *Un Peintre de la Vie Londonienne de Thomas Dekker (circa 1572-1632)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958).

Jusserand, J. J., *Les Sports et Jeux d’Exercice dans l’ancienne France* (Paris: Librairie Plon).

Justice, S., *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (The New Historicism, 27; London: University of California Press, 1994).

Keith, R., *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1845).

King, P. S., ‘The Middlesex Justices 1590-1640: The Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for Middlesex’ (unpuplished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1972).

Kinser, S., *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext* (The New Historicism, 10; Oxford: University of California Press, 1990).

Kipling, G., *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, 1977).

Kipling, G., ‘Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage’, in G. F. Lytle and S. Orgel (eds.) *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 117-64.

Kisby, F., ‘The Royal Household Chapel in Early-Tudor London’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1996).

Kisby, F., ‘Kingship and the Royal Itinerary’, *Court Historian*, 4, 1 (1999), 29-39.

Kisby, F., ‘“When the King Goeth a Procession”: Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547’, *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 1 (2001), 44-75.

Kisby, F., ‘Religious Ceremonial at the Tudor Court: Extracts from Royal Household Regulations’ in I. W. Archer and S. Adams (eds.), *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-century England* (Camden Fifth ser., 22; Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 1-33.

Kjær, L., ‘Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265’, *Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 75–89.

Klein, L. M., ‘Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.2 (1997), 459-93.

Kunz, E., ‘Hospitality, Conviviality, and the English Gentry: Social Networks of the Landed Elite in Late Medieval Suffolk’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, Ann Arbor, 2001).

Lamb, E., ‘Youth Culture’, in A. Hadfield, M. Dimmock, and A. Shinn (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 31-42.

Lancashire, I., *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984).

Lane, J., *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996).

Laroque, F., *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*, trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

Lars, K., and A.J. Watson, ‘Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37, 1, 1-5.

Lawson, J. A., *The Elizabethan New Year’s Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford: OUP for the British Academy, 2013), 1-29.

Le Goff, J. and P. Nora (eds), *Faire de l’Histoire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974).

Le Roy Ladurie, E., *Carnival: A People's Uprising at Romans, 1579-1580*, trans. M. Feeney (London: Scolar, 1980).

Lewis C. P., and A. T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography* (London: Victoria County History, 2003), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1 [accessed 15 December 2018].

Lin, E. T., ‘Festivity,’ in H. S. Turner (ed.), *Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 212-229.

Lindenbaum, S., ‘Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch’, in B. Hanawalt and K. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.), 171-188.

Lindley, D., ‘Introduction’, in D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 1-15.

Lindley, K. J., 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109-126.

Loach, J., 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past & Present*, 142 (1994), 43-68.

Loughlin, M., 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray (1531/2–1570), regent of Scotland', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, 22 September 2011 (Oxford: OUP) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26479.

Lysons, D. and S. Lysons, 'The City of Carlisle', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland* (London, 1816), 56-81. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/magna-britannia/vol4/pp56-81 [accessed 16 December 2018].

Macdougall, N., *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997).

Maclean, S., 'Hocktide: A Reassessment of a Popular Pre-Reformation Festival', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 233-41.

Magoun, F., 'Football in Medieval England and in Middle-English Literature', *American Historical Review*, 35 (1929), 33-45.

Magoun, F., *History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 31; Bochum-Langendreer, H. Pöppinghaus, 1938).

Malcolmson, R. W., *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (London: CUP, 1973).

Mand, A., *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Manning, R. B., *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Marcus, L., *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Marfany, J., 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 156 (1997), 174-191.

Marples, M., *A History of Football* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954).

Mauss, M., *The Gift: Forms and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies,* trans. I. Cunnison (London: Cohen and West, 1966).

McDonnell, M. F., *A History of St. Paul's School* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909).

McGee, C. E. and J. C. Meagher, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments: 1625-1634', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 36 (1997), 23-95.

McMahon, R., 'Cultures of Communication: New Historical Perspectives', *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire*, 16, 1 (2009), 1-14.

McNeill, F. M., *The Silver Bough: A Four Volume Study of the National and Local Festivals of Scotland* (Glasgow: William Maclellan, 1957-60).

Merritt, J. F., *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013).

Metcalfe, W.C., *A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor made Between the Fourth Year of King Henry VI and the Restoration of King Charles II* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885).

Mill, A. J., *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927).

Miller, J., *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014).

Miller, D., *Unwrapping Christmas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

Mills, D., *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and Its Whitsun Plays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

Millstone, N., 'Historicising Common Sense', *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 46, 4 (2012), 529-43.

Muir, E., *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (New Approaches to European History, 11; Cambridge: CUP, 1997).

Mulryne, J. R. and E. Goldring, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Mulryne, J. R. and M. Shewring (eds.), *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

Mulryne, J.R. et al. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: MHRA in Conjunction with Ashgate, 2004).

Neilson, N., 'Customary Rents', in F. M. Stenton and N. Neilson, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw and Customary Rents* (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910).

Nielson, N., 'Boon-Services on the Estates of Ramsey Abbey', *American Historical Review,* 2.2 (1897), 213-224.

Norton, G., *Commentaries on the History, Constitution and the Chartered Franchises of the City of London* (London, 1829).

Nugent, J. B., 'Marriage Matters: Evidence from the Kirk Session Records of Scotland, c.1560-1650' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Guelph, 2004).

O'Flanagan, J. and B. Loewy, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland: From the Earliest times to the Reign of Queen Victoria*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1870).

Oggins, R. S., *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Orgel, S. and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Orme, N., 'The Culture of Children in Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 148 (1995), 67-8.

Orme, N., *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006).

Page, W. and J. H. Round (eds.), *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 2*, (London: Victoria County History, 1907), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2 [accessed 3 May 2018].

Parry, C. H., (ed.), *The Parliaments and Councils of England: Chronologically Arranged, From the Reign of William I to the Revolution in 1688* (1839).

Peck, L. L., '"For a King Not to Be Bountiful Were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', *Journal of British Studies* 25, 1 (1986), 31-61.

Penman, M. A., *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2004).

Penny, G., *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836).

Pettitt, T., '"Here Comes I Jack Straw": English Folk Drama and Social Revolt', *Folklore* 95, 1 (1984), 3-20.

Pettitt, T., '*Mankind*: An English *Fastnachtspiel?*', in M. Twycross (ed.), *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 190-202.

Pettitt, T., '*Carnevale* in Norwich, 1443: Gladman's Parade and its Continental Connections', *Medieval English Theatre*, 39 (2017), 35-76.

Phythian-Adams, C., 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972), 57-85.

Polyakov, M., 'Practice Theories: The Latest Turn in Historiography?', *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 6, 2 (2012), 218-35.

Postan, M. M., *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, (Economic History Review. Supplements, 2; London: CUP for the Economic History Society, 1954).

Powell, S., 'Mirk, John (fl. c. 1382–c. 1414), Augustinian author', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: OUP, 2004) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18818.

Raftis, J. A., *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organization* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1957).

Rappaport, S., *World's Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Volume 2, Part 2: English Universities, Student Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895).

Ravelhofer, B., 'Bureaucrats and Courtly Cross-Dressers in the Shrovetide Masque and The Shepherd's Paradise', *English Literary Renaissance* 29.1 (1999), 87-94.

Reay, B., (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century England*, (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

Reay, B., *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1998).

Ridder-Patrick, J., 'Astrology in Early Modern Scotland ca. 1560-1726', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2012).

Roach, J., *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia UP, 1996).

Robertson, J. D. M., *The Kirkwall Ba': Between the Water and the Wall,* (Edinburgh: Dunedin, 2005).

Robinson, D. (ed.), *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London: Batsford, 1998).

Robson, P., 'Calendar Customs in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Dorset' (unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Sheffield M.Phil, 1988).

Rosenthal, J., *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy,* 1307–1485 (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972).

Rosie, A., 'Ritual, Chivalry and Pageantry: The Courts of Anjou, Orleans and Savoy in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989).

Routt, D. W., 'Economy and Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Estate of the Abbot of St Edmund's, 1335-1388' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1998).

Rush, J. R., 'Commerce and Labor in Medieval England: The Impact of the Market Economy on Workers' Diet and Wages, 1275-1315' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 2001).

Santino, J., 'The Carnivalesque and the Ritualesque', *Journal of American Folklore,* 124, 491 (2011), 61-73.

Santino, J. (ed.), *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque*, (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2017).

Santino, J., 'Introduction: From Carnivalesque to Ritualesque', in J. Santino (ed.) *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque* (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2017).

Sax, W. S., 'Ritual and the Problem of Efficacy', in W. S. Sax, J. Quack, and J. Weinhold (eds.), *The Problems of Ritual Efficacy* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 3-16.

Scattergood, J., 'Misrepresenting the City: Genre, Intertextuality and William Fitzstephen's *Description of London* (c 1173)', in J. Boffey and P. King (eds.), *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995), 1-34.

Schechner, R., *Performance Theory,* (rev. ed.; London: Routledge, 2003).

Schramm, P. E., *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L. G. W. Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

Scott, J. C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London: Yale University Press, 1990).

Scribner, B., 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Social History*, 3, 3 (1978), 303-29.

Seaver, P., ‘Apprentice Riots in Early Modern London,’ in J. P. Ward (ed.), *Violence, Politics, and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 17-39.

Seymour, R., D. Howe, and A. Goodman, ‘Over 1,000 Arrested in U.K. as Anger over Inequality, Racism Boils Over into 'Insurrection'’, *Democracy Now*, (10 August 2011).

Sharpe, J. A., *Remember, Remember the Fifth of November: Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Profile Books, 2005).

Shepard, A., *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

Skoda, H., *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330* (Oxford: OUP, 2013).

Smith, S. R., ‘The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-century Adolescents,’ *Past & Present* (1973), 149-161.

Sondergaard, L., ‘Two Carnival Plays from Late Medieval Denmark’, in M. Twycross (ed.) *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 203-11

Spiegal, G. M., (ed.), *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004).

Spiegel, G. M., ‘Comment on “A Crooked Line”’, *American Historical Review*, 113, 2 (2008), 406-416.

Sponsler, C., ‘Writing the Unwritten: Morris Dance and the Study of Medieval Theatre’, *Theatre Survey*, 38 (1997), 73-95.

Stallybras, P., and A. White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

Stedman, J. O., ‘“A Very Indifferent Small City” The Economy of Carlisle, 1550-1700’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1988).

Steele, M. S., *Plays & Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926).

Stevenson, K., ‘Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century Scotland, 1424-1513’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2003).

Stevenson, K., *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006).

Stone, L., *Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

Straznicky, M., ‘The End(s) of Discord in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday,*’ *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 36.2, (Tudor and Stuart Drama, 1996), 357-372.

Streitberger, W. R., *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Studies in Early English Drama, 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

Streitberger, W. R., *The Masters of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court Theatre* (Oxford: OUP, 2016).

Strickland, A., *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*, 8 vols. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1851-59).

Strong, R., 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journals of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 86-103.

Strong, R., *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

Strong, R., *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984).

Summerson, H. R. T., *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-sixteenth Centuries* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 25; Kendal: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, 1993).

Swain, P., 'Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer: A Reply to Tony Collins', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33:3 (2016), 251-271.

Symes, C., *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Thirsk, J., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: IV, 1500–1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967).

Thirsk, J., *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500–1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007).

Thomas, A., *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005).

Todd, M., 'Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of British Studies,* 39, 2 (2000), 123-56.

Todd, M., *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, (London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Tomasik T. J., and J.M. Vitullo (eds.), *At the table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 18; Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

Trower, C. F., 'Findon', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, Volume 26* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1875).

Twycross M., and S. Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Underdown, D., *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

Underdown, D., 'Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture during the Early Modern Period', in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 28-47.

Underdown, D., '"But the Shows of their Street": Civic Pageantry and Charivari in a Somerset Town, 1607', *Journal of British Studies*, 50 (2011), 4-23.

Vale, J., *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982).

Vale, M. G. A., *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-west Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001).

Vaught, J., *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England,* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

Vincent, N., 'An Inventory of Gifts to King Henry III, 1234-5', in D. Crook (ed.) *The Growth of Royal Government Under Henry III* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 121-48.

Wadmore, J. F., *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners of London: Being the Guild or Fraternity of Corpus Christi* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1902).

Walker, G., *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

Walker, G., *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

Wallace, C. W., *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912).

Walsh, B, 'Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday,*' *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900,* 46.2 (2006), 323–48.

Weaver, F. W. and C. Herbert Mayo (eds.), *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 13 (Sherbourne: J. C. and A. T. Sawtell, 1912).

Welsford, E., *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry & the Revels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1927).

Westfall, S., 'The Boy Who Would Be King: Court Revels of King Edward VI, 1547-1553', *Comparative Drama*, vol. 35, 3 (2001), 271-90.

Wickham, G., *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660 Vol.3: Plays and their Makers to 1576* (London and Henley: Routledge and K. Paul, 1981).

Wiggins M. and C. Richardson, *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue. Vol. 1, 1533-1566* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).

Wiggins, M., *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: OUP, 2012).

Wild, B. L., 'A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III', *English Historical Review*, 125, 514 (2010), 529-569.

Williams, D. H., *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998).

Williams, G., *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. (London: Athlone Press, 1994).

Wilson, J. (ed.), *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge and Totoya NJ: D.S. Brewer, 1980).

Wilson, J. A., 'Some Early Sporting Notes relating to Cumberland,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Ser. 1, 12 (1893).

Wood, A., *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

Wood, A., 'Brave Minds and Hard Hands: Work, Drama, and Social Relations in the Hungry 1590s', in C. Fitter (ed.), *Shakespeare and the Politics of Commoners* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 84-101.

Woolgar, C. M., 'Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century', in M. Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), 7–25.

Woolgar, C. M., D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

Woolgar, C. M., 'Food and the Middle Ages', *Medieval History*, 36 (2009), 1–19.

Woolgar, C. M., 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Medieval History*, 37:1 (2011), 8-9.

Woolgar, C. M., *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

Wright, A. R., *British Calendar Customs*, ed. T. E. Lones, 3 vols. (London, 1936-40).

Wrigley, E. A. and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold for the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 1981).

Young, A., *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987).

Young, P., *A History of British Football*, (London: Arrow Books, 1968).

Youngs, D., 'Servants and Labourers on a Late Medieval Demesne: The Case of Newton, Cheshire, 1498-1520', *Agricultural History Review*, 47, 2 (1999), 145-60.

WEB RESOURCES

Colthorpe, M., 'The Elizabethan Court Day by Day', *Folgerpedia* https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day#The_Elizabethan_Court_Day_by_Day.

Dictionary of the Scots Language Online (Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004) http://www.dsl.ac.uk.

Durham Cathedral Muniments: Catalogue of Locelli: 1087-1606 (Durham, Durham University Library, 2014) http://endure.dur.ac.uk:8080/fedora/objects/UkDhU:EADCatalogue.0085/datastreams/PDF/content.

Durham University Library: Archives and Special Collections Online Catalogue http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s1pz50gw11v.xml;query=shrove;brand=default#1.

Essex Record Office Online Catalogue http://seax.essexcc.gov.uk/Default.aspx?SearchDocs=1&intSearchType=12.

‘Mayors and Sheriffs List 1415 – 1615’, *Lord Mayor Chester Online*. http://lordmayorchester.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/MayorChesterMayors1414-1615.pdf.

‘Mayors and Sheriffs List 1615 – 1815’, *Lord Mayor Chester Online*. http://lordmayorchester.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Mayor-mayors1615.pdf.

The National Archives Discovery Online Catalogue http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/.

OED Online, (OUP, 2018) www.oed.com.

Palmer, R. C., E. K. Palmer, and S. Jenks, *The Anglo-American Legal Tradition* http://aalt.law.uh.edu/.

Records of London Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freemen, 1400-1900, http://www.londonroll.org/home.

Shropshire Archives Online Collections https://www.shropshirearchives.org.uk/collections/.

Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service Online Catalogue http://e-services.worcestershire.gov.uk/CalmView/default.aspx.